DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 110 612 95 CE 004 384

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TITLE Issues in Education for the Youthful Offender in Correctional Institutions.
INSTITUTION Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, Boulder, Colo.
SPONS AGENCY Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C.
GRANT OEG-0-70-1999(725)
NOTE 90p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.76 HC-$4.43 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; *Correctional Education; Correctional Rehabilitation; Corrective Institutions; Criminals; Delinquent Rehabilitation; Educational History; Educational Improvement; Educational Needs; Educational Objectives; *Educational Programs; Educational Psychology; Institutionalized (Persons); Intelligence; Intelligence Tests; *Program Descriptions; Teachers; Teaching Methods; *Youth; *Youth Programs

ABSTRACT

The introduction to the survey of educational programs for juvenile offenders in correctional institutions briefly outlines the educational problems and priorities in the prison setting. Chapter one discusses the history of such programs over the last 150 years, especially considering the use and biases of intelligence tests during the last 50 years and the recent development of a holistic approach to intelligence. Chapter two surveys the educational programs in 29 juvenile correctional institutions in the Western U. S. which responded to mailed questionnaires regarding types of programs offered, kinds of teaching methods used, training and background of teachers and their opportunities for continuing education, and students' present achievement levels and current learning difficulties. Chapter three discusses current issues in education for juvenile offenders, dealing at length with issues within institutional classrooms, and less extensively with the problem of linking institutional programs with the community. Chapter four discusses new objectives for integrating the school and the community into correction and presents an agenda of priorities consisting of children's rights to learn, to earn, and to live and develop. Chapter five surveys ten innovative programs in juvenile correctional institutions around the country, providing the name of a contact person for each program. (JR)

ED110612

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Education for the Youthful Offender in Correctional Institutions

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ISSUES

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Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education

The WICHE/NEPIC project in the western tier of states was one of three regional activities funded by the Office of Education which made up the Nationwide Education Program in Corrections (NEPIC). The WICHE/NEPIC program had two basic roles:

To serve as a regional training center for corrections generally.

To serve as a regional training and resource center for education in corrections specifically.

Out of this latter role came two publications which begin to fill a void: the lack of hard information regarding the state of education in corrections.

Issues in Education for the Youthful Offender

Education Programs in Adult Correctional Institutions

ISSUES IN EDUCATION FOR THE YOUTHFUL OFFENDER IN CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

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Funded by

U.S. Office of Education
Grant No. OEG-0-70-1999 (725)

Acknowledgments: I would like to express my appreciation to W. Tom Adams, Special Consultant to the WICHE Corrections Program, for his important assistance in the development of this publication, and to Research Assistant Carl Shames, whose combination of academic and experience bases provided much valuable help in the preparation of the manuscript. I am also grateful for the unusual expertise of Robert Abelson, whose data collection and analytical insights have been so important in the survey.

Preface

The confined delinquent receives an education which cannot measure up to education's stated aims and goals. Neither does this education provide a sound foundation for adapting to a modern society. Without the opportunity for education that will ensure the confined delinquent the ability to maximize his innate potential to the fullest, he will suffer a life of frustration with direct consequences to the society in which he lives.

If effective education is to be delivered to the confined delinquent it can only be accomplished if all involved are engaged in a planned and reasoned manner and working toward an explicit, clearly defined goal. This will demand a thorough understanding of an institution's own educational mission and its activities and also its relation to other related activities. Not only are the efforts of each institution necessary to bring about needed change, but there are factors outside the institution that are also to be relied upon at local, state, and national levels; especially at the national level. Only at this level, where broad-based perspectives and opportunity for leadership are given, can we expect the kind of breakthrough action necessary. This book seeks to provide that launch pad of data which will see action at the national, state, and local levels. We believe that the information included in this document will clarify many of the issues and concerns surrounding the matter of education for the confined youthful offender.

We are greatly indebted to many persons in the West who provided this data, cooperated with our survey effort, and indicated a willingness to share their knowledge and experience for the development of this document.

Frank Dell'Apa, Director
WICHE Corrections Program

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INTRODUCTION

The WICHE/NEPIC project in the western tier of states focused heavily on the matter of education for the confined delinquent. This area of concern is one which has many persons involved and interested, but progress in bringing about needed change has been slow indeed. It was decided, therefore, that to bring about change it was necessary to "demonstrate" — this technique has been fruitful for many groups who sought social action. In correctional education, demonstration is best typified by the conference. Conferences however, usually do not produce social action; therefore this conference, in an effort to ensure social action, incorporated a somewhat different approach. It would do two things which would differentiate it from other, more routine, conferences:

1. Include representatives of all levels of concern from those directly involved and directly responsible as well as the ultimate consumer himself, the offender.
2. Devise a strategy of action in which task forces would follow through on the conference-guided directions.

The conference itself saw forty persons, with demonstrated interest and experience in this area of concern, spend three days together to define problems and posit solutions to the assumption:

> THE YOUTHFUL OFFENDER IN COMMUNITY SCHOOLS AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS IN CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS HAS GENERALLY NOT BEEN PROVIDED AN EFFECTIVE EDUCATION.

There are many reasons for this. Many are quite legitimate, but, in terms of the degree of failure of both the systems of education and corrections, excuses are insufficient. Insufficient because both systems' failures are predicated on the fact that they simply have not provided the priority concern that is needed.

A kind of malaise in both education and corrections precludes the appropriate allocation of resources and the development of activities necessary to accomplish the task of insuring effective education for the offender.

It is not a matter of more resources but rather fuller use of what is available; not new techniques or methods, but use of proven techniques and methods; not new programs, but the linking together of programs which effectively support education for the offender.

What do we find today, in terms of teaching, teachers, and pupils? In general:

- One million children come to the attention of the courts annually.
- Fifty thousand delinquent children are confined in correctional institutions.
- Most are educationally behind their age group.
- **The number of these who cannot read and write or who are educationally retarded is staggering.**

More often than not, the delinquent youth comes from a broken and impoverished family. He is Black or brown, from the inner city, and often alienated and hostile.

He is invariably a "dropout" with an academic competence one to four years below the average for his age. He is confused, inadequate, and embittered. He lacks self-confidence and self-respect. He views himself as a failure; but, in effect, he is the product of many failures — failure by his family, failure by his schools, failure by his community. If he is in a correctional institution, he can look forward to failure there, too.

If he is in an educational program in a correctional institution, it is a program too often deficient in staff, resources, methods, and facilities. If he is in a community school, he is in a program which is geared more to high-achieving middle-class children and less to the special needs of this type of youth. Because his educational needs are special, he needs special approaches if he is to achieve his fullest potential. We find some startling things when we take a look at teaching, teachers, and pupils; specifically:

- Teaching

  In-service training:

None to minimal	50%
Adequate	50%

Sufficient facilities:

	Yes	No
Classrooms	25%	0
Books/Library	18%	7%
Teachers	22%	3%
Materials	15%	10%

- Teachers

College major

Elementary and Secondary Education	60%
Special Education	20%
Non-Education Major	20%

Number of years of teaching experience

One (or less) years	71%
Five or more years	27%

- Students

Percent of students with various problems interfering with learning

Physical handicap	6%
Emotional handicap	42%
Reading difficulty	45%
Other remedial problems	40%
Culturally disadvantaged	46%
Behavioral and social problems	76%
Not motivated to learn	32%
Appears mentally retarded	6%
Percent of students with one or more special problems	87%
Percent of students with two or more special problems	71%
Percent of students with three or more special problems	49%

Data is from a preliminary look at a sampling of data about teachers, teaching, and pupils in 40 institutions in the West, including about 500 teachers and over 7,500 youths.

The foregoing set the stage for some further specific prescriptions:

- This conference concerned itself basically with the youthful offender.
- This conference concerned itself with education in correctional institutions.

It was to be a working conference and had the following goals:

1. To define the problem in such a way that solutions could be devised.
2. To develop position statements which would provide the basis for solutions.

CONFERENCE BEGINNING

Using a unique method, problem definition was effected. Four groups' input was synthesized, and a true group product resulted.

From nearly 150 separate problem statements, 13 surfaced as those which were priority concerns of the group as a whole. These were:

1. Education has low priority within the institution.
2. There is a lack of adequately defined objectives for treatment.
3. There is a failure to recognize that delinquency is a function of societal/structural problems rather than individual/clinical.
4. Teachers do not relate affectively with students.
5. There is a failure to deal with the "whole" individual.
6. There is a problem getting trained and qualified staff and retraining present staff.
7. High priority is often given to proven "failure" programs and low priority given to innovative, successful programs.
8. Cultural diversity and lifestyles are not considered in curriculum planning.
9. There is a lack of total framework for educational services as differentiated from piecemeal programs.
10. There is a lack of availability of community-based programs.
11. There is a lack of community initiation of planning and preparation for their institutionalized youth upon their return to the community.
12. There is fear of change.

13. There are problems of implementing a total team concept in existing institutional programs.

To put these disparate items into a cohesive statement so that the next steps could take place yielded the following:

STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Generally we find that there is a failure to provide effective education to the youthful offender in correctional institutions. This is the result of a number of factors:

Fear of Change

Changes are needed. The status quo will not suffice. Changed approaches, renewed interest, and, in fact, changes ranging across the spectrum of teachers and teaching are basic to all that follows. They must permeate all efforts to deliver effective education to youthful offenders.

Changes, however, must be specified in some detail and exactness if they are to mean anything. *It is basic to all else that resistance to change is anathema to our goal, and a climate of acceptance of change must be incorporated by all concerned.*

Failure to Recognize That Delinquency Is a Function of Society

Delinquent youth must not be viewed in a negative fashion; his lack of education is not his fault. Rather it is the fault of the education system that fails to respond to his needs.

Failure to Deal With the "Whole" Individual

The idea of sick child/healthy system hides the real need to deal with the student as a whole person — one whose education needs are intricately intertwined with social, economic, and personal facets.

Cultural Diversity and Lifestyles

Cultural differences and lifestyles must be considered in efforts to plan curriculum.

Specific problems for task force study and concern were (1) Strategies and Priorities, (2) Linking and Sharing, and (3) Teachers and Teaching.

STRATEGIES AND PRIORITIES

Lack of Adequately Defined Objectives for Teachers

There is a lack of adequately and commonly held objectives regarding treatment of the offender in correctional institutions, with the result that just about every other person who comes in contact with the offender deals with him differently and often in a conflicting manner.

Lack of Framework

Institutional staff, resources, and facilities must be utilized in a concerted approach, not in the fragmented way generally seen.

Total Team Approach

This kind of total approach with staff functioning as a team is possible only if the educational program is meshed with all other institutional programs and activities. (Staff activity is directly related to program objectives.)

Failure Is Priority — Education Is Low Priority

Underlying this statement is the need to overcome the tendency to **continue programs which do not work** and to **increase the priority concern of education in the total institution program.**

LINKING AND SHARING

Lack of Community Programs — Community Initiative

To consider the institutional education programs and the institution without regard to the broader society, its agencies, programs, and people, is to debilitate the best efforts in the institution.

TEACHERS AND TEACHING

Teachers Do Not Relate Affectively to Students

Teaching, to be effective, demands an affective relationship between teacher and pupil. Skills and predisposition to relate in this way are not inherent in teachers today nor are they taught in teachers colleges. Teaching demands an expanded role — one which personalizes the teacher/pupil relationship. If learning is a function of teaching, it can only be effective if the affective element is available. This, coupled with skills, techniques, and knowledge, can do much to bring education to the youthful offender. Pre-service training must take this important factor into consideration.

Retraining Currently Employed Teachers

Currently, however, those teachers directly involved with youth must be trained in some cases or retrained in others if an effective job is to be done. This group, the currently employed teachers, is the target group of first priority. They are crucial to the task.

This outline formed the basis of three task forces: (1) Strategies and Priorities, (2) Linking and Sharing, and (3) Teachers and Teaching. These task forces continued after the conference to achieve some specific objectives, namely:

- Develop position papers incorporating action agendas of means and methods of achieving the task force goals.
- Seek to implement a Second Annual Conference on Issues in Education for the Youthful Offender.

1

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN JUVENILE INSTITUTIONS

Many today feel that there exists a "crisis in education" for the juvenile offender. It did not arise overnight. To understand the present situation in this area of concern, it is necessary to look to origins and historical development.

Today's juvenile correctional/educational system has evolved gradually over a period of a hundred and fifty years. Moreover, there have been no sudden breaks in this evolution. No revolution has swept the field clear of outmoded theories and practices. New theories from psychology, education, medicine, and other fields have been applied in the education of the institutionalized juvenile — but only gradually. Sometimes a new theory comes into its own in juvenile corrections long after it has ceased to be new in other fields.

As a result, today we can look at many juvenile correctional institutions and discern methods originating in the early nineteenth century operating side by side with new practices minted yesterday.

It is this *uneven and combined development*, so characteristic of education in juvenile correctional institutions, which obliges a historical review of the development of various theories and practices.

It is not sufficient to review theories in public education generally. While juvenile corrections has borrowed much from this field, it has existed as a field apart. This separate development was noted by David S. Snedden in a review of the field written in 1907:

> The juvenile reform school has not sprung from our public school system but has grown partly in connection with charity and philanthropy, and partly in connection with the departments of justice and penology. . . . The educational work of juvenile reform schools has had few points of contact with the general system of public and private education of this country. The problems to be worked out have been so

special and peculiar as to make it impossible for the workers to find in the public school system much of suggestion.[7]*

Snedden went on to note that there had not been much cross-fertilization between the public education system and the juvenile reform system. Today, when armed police stalk the corridors of inner-city high schools while juvenile institutions decentralize and become more home-like, some may feel that there has been too much cross-fertilization between the systems. But in fact Snedden's observation still stands, sixty-five years after it was made. Apart from superficial resemblances, juvenile reform and public education are and have been different streams of endeavor, organized as worlds apart.

The relative absence, until very recent times, of formal interconnections between juvenile reform and other social activities should not be taken to mean that juvenile corrections has existed in isolation from society. On the contrary, the aims, practices, and theoretical underpinnings of educational programs in juvenile institutions have always been integrally related to prevailing social philosophies. But the uneven and combined development of the field, paradoxically, tends to obscure this interrelation. It would be very clear if there were a simple succession — one philosophy succeeding another, one teaching method supplanting another. But to really see how the field of juvenile corrections has incorporated advances in the growth of our scientific world view and how it has related to an increasingly complex social order, we must delve further into history.

The Rise of Juvenile Institutions

The first juvenile correctional institutions arose in direct response to two distinct but related social needs.

The first was the need to get children out of the adult penitentiaries. In the early nineteenth century, children convicted of various offenses were incarcerated together with adults. Statistics from the early 1800s show that nearly a fifth of the prison population was under 21 years old. The adult prisons had no facilities for educating these youths. The governor of Parkhurst Prison in England commented on the educational level of the younger inmates in his charge in 1839:

> The great majority of the boys . . . are uneducated; the proportion who could read and write with tolerable readiness would be but small, and the proportion of those who have any real understanding of what they read is small indeed.[1]

*Numbers denote references on p. 21.

A new view of youth had arisen as industrial society began to require a longer period of education for its citizenry, and the humanitarian reformers upholding this new view saw the increase of delinquent youth in the prisons as a challenge to the enlightenment of the industrial age.

Yet their struggle to get youth out of adult prisons might not have succeeded were it not for the second great social need to which the new juvenile institutions were the response — namely, the ever increasing mass of children who were not transgressors but who were simply homeless, vagrant, or destitute. In the United States, they were often the flotsam and jetsam of the waves of immigration — children who had become separated from their parents during the arduous journey to the new land. Or they were children whose parents were too poor to support them, or children of convicted offenders, or children who had run away from the slums of Europe, gaining passage on a boat in return for indentured servitude.

The first juvenile training schools in this country were called Houses of Refuge. The first of these was established in New York in 1824 by the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism. They were designed to accommodate both delinquent and dependent children. Here was set the very important precedent of placing children who had actually committed crimes together with other children, not differentiating the groups in their subsequent treatment.

Since this treatment of juveniles continues to provoke concern, it should be understood that at that time the pressure to construct Houses of Refuge came overwhelmingly from those faced with the problem of dealing with dependent children.

A British reformer of 1850, Mary Carpenter, quotes a New York police chief of the time, who called attention to "a deplorable and growing evil existing in that community of vagrant, idle, and vicious children of both sexes, who infest the public thoroughfares, hotels, docks, etc." The chief added:

> In my opinion, some method by which these children could be compelled to attend our schools regularly, or be apprenticed to some suitable occupation, would tend, in time, more to improve the morals of the community, prevent crime, and relieve the city from the onerous burden of expenses for the Almshouse and Penitentiary, than any other conservative or philanthropic movement with which I am at present acquainted.[1]

The Society for the Prevention of Pauperism mentioned above had

begun to answer the need. Snedden quotes from their report of 1822 on the theory of the House of Refuge:

> These prisons should be schools of instruction rather than places of punishment like our state prisons. The youth confined there should be placed under a course of discipline. . . . The end should be his [the youth's] reformation and future usefulness.[7]
>
> * * *
>
> The House of Refuge is not a prison, but a school where reformation and not punishment is the end . . . The object of the charity is reformation by training its inmates to industry, imbuing their minds with the principles of morality and religion, by furnishing them with the means to earn a living, and above all by separating them from the corrupting influence of improper associates. To this end, may not the natural parents, when unequal to the task of education, or unworthy of it, be superseded by the *parens patriae*, or common guardians of the community?[7]

In sum, the first juvenile institutions saw education — moral and religious education in particular — as the means for effecting the adjustment of the young individual to a role in society. That is why they saw no bar to combining the delinquent and the dependent in one system of treatment. The early stages of the juvenile reform movement were thus a form of regulating and compelling the education of a large segment of youth — particularly immigrants and other poor people — among whom those accused of actual crimes were a very small proportion. Most of these children would not otherwise have had the opportunity for education.

The combination of offenders and nonoffenders in one system of treatment led logically to the first attempts at what today would be called "individualized" treatment. For example, the rules of the Philadelphia House of Refuge stated that "the former conduct of delinquents [must] be no further regarded in their treatment in the House than as furnishing an index to the character and discipline necessary in their respective cases, the design of the House being discipline, instruction, and reformation, not the punishment of the delinquent."

Conditions of Juvenile Correctional Education Before World War I

Juvenile institutions like the Houses of Refuge spread quickly, and they were fostered by a great variety of agencies — charitable organizations, individual philanthropists, religious zealots, civic associations, and philanthropic societies were among the pioneer entrepreneurs in

the field. At first it was difficult to draw strict lines between orphanages, asylums, and juvenile reform schools. By the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the problem of delinquent and dependent children had reached such proportions that private efforts were clearly insufficient. More and more, the public relied upon the state to establish and maintain juvenile reform institutions.

A period of development of education in juvenile institutions began that was to last until the first world war and the advent of scientific psychology. The evolution of educational practices in this period involved few drastic changes or new developments. Instead, the era was marked by sporadic ebbs and flows of interest and reform. As the influence of the religious and moral reformers gradually declined, giving way to the secular sector, efforts were made to standardize and systematize the programs of juvenile reformatories. With the decrease in religious training there was a parallel decrease in the teaching of reading and study skills: since salvation was no longer the objective, the ability to memorize and read passages from the Bible was no longer prized. Instead, there was increased stress on industrial and vocational skills training.

The underlying mood and the philosophy of the more reform-minded individuals in this period are rather well represented in the following quotation from an essay by clergyman/reformer Edward Everett Hale:

> In America the State assumes responsibility for the intelluctual education of all its children, leaving to parents their moral, religious and vocational training. When parents fail to meet their responsibilities in this respect and their children become delinquent, then the State should take full charge of the education of these children.[2]

Hale suggested a plan to restore the system of apprenticeship, with juvenile apprentices being funneled through a state receiving home that would "wash them, establish regular habits for them, and retain them long enough to judge their abilities." Similar proposals were implemented in a number of areas.

The drift of this philosophy was thus towards a more comprehensive view of the problem and the tasks involved. Where the earlier reformers were concerned simply to get the mass of homeless children off the streets and properly imbued with religion and sober habits, the later proponents of training schools were concerned to provide, both in philosophy and in actual legal practice, a substitute for the family.

The state held the family responsible for educating its children.

Families were obligated either to maintain their children in public school or to make other arrangements. Training in skills necessary for a vocation was thus the responsibility of the family. It seemed logical to Hale and other Victorian reformers, then, that children whose families proved unable to fulfill the responsibilities should be subject to removal to foster homes or state training schools.

Ideally, the state would then rehabilitate the children and graduate them to useful places in society. The ideal, of course, was rarely attained in practice. The large institutions were often little more than workhouses, private factories in which children were harnessed by the hundreds to some type of industrial production and where the skills taught were not particularly useful to the children upon release.

Teachers generally lived in the institutions of this period, acting as matrons, wardens, or custodial staff in addition to teaching. Salaries were comparable to those earned by public school teachers. But the demands made on institutional teachers were much more intense, requiring, as one author put it, a "missionary spirit." To be successful, a teacher needed so broad a variety of skills and talents as would certainly qualify him or her for much better jobs. As a result, the good teachers did take much better jobs; poor teachers, of course, were plentiful.

The curricula of juvenile institutions before the first world war included four types of education: physical, moral, vocational, and academic. The state of academic classroom education in reformatories was very poor. Institutions lacked adequate facilities, teachers were too few and poorly trained, and the rote education of the public school system was too inflexible. Snedden and other reformers suggested training and certification of teachers and introduction of innovative methods of teaching and presenting coursework. This, then, was the beginning of concern for education of the confined delinquent.

The Dilemma of Juvenile Correctional Education

The juvenile correctional system had gone through a great deal of change, albeit gradual, in its first eighty years. In the early part of this century, reformers stood back to look at the system and the education it was providing to troubled children. They took a long, hard look, weighed it in the balance, and found it wanting.

Educational programs by and large were failing. The majority of the juvenile institutions were hardly fit to serve a custodial function, and as educators of children with special needs they were simply miserable.

It was apparent in 1907 — just as it is today — that an important

factor common to committed youth was the total failure of the public school system to educate this category of youth. Statistics gathered on the institutionalized population supported the view that committed youth were truants, school failures, and illiterates. Snedden offers the following statistics for children committed to the New York Juvenile Asylum in 1904:

> Seventy-four boys and 52 girls could not read; 19 boys and 3 girls could read only; 10 boys and 2 girls could read and write; 484 boys and 114 girls could read, write, and cipher.[7]

In short, nearly 17 percent were illiterate. There were many behavioral problems, and the progress of education in reformatories lagged seriously. Although it was many years before the development of modern testing and diagnosistic techniques, it was clear to most educators at the time that the learning problems of institutionalized children were not in general caused by retardation. Snedden, for example, expressed this view:

> There exists no evidence that the educational backwardness of these children is usually due to their being naturally slow or intellectually deficient. These seems to be a residue who are somewhat feebleminded or naturally dull, but an equal or greater number show themselves to be mentally very alert when they come under conditions of good physical nurture, persistent and wholesome discipline, and enforced systematic study.[7]

Failures in the public school system, in social adjustment, and in rehabilitation were attributed mainly to defects in moral character and social development. Disagreements among educators and theorists of the prewar period centered on the extent to which these defects were caused by heredity or environment. But the axis of the discussion changed sharply after World War I, with the advent of psychological testing.

The Era of the Intelligence Test

The most significant shift in the field of juvenile corrections occurred as a result of the rise of scientific psychology, which for the first time unified the theorists in the field behind a new method and strategy. Into a field previously tenanted by an assortment of moralists, religious teachers, factory owners, civil servants, and leading citizens, psychology rode on a white charger, promising a resolution of all problems by means of testing and experiment.

A **Journal of Delinquency** was established to trumpet the arrival of the new science, and its editor, William Healy, expressed the enthusiasm of its proponents in 1915:

> The entrance of psychology into the field of delinquency problems is a thoroughly accomplished fact. From this most satisfactory advance in psychological effort there can be no retreat. . . . It is clear that much will be gained for a long time from trying a variety of methods of approach to the problems, for instance by inventing and standardizing new tests and systems of tests for mentality of all grades. There is much, also, to be hoped from the development of research along many other lines than the mere giving of intelligence tests to delinquents and the making of mental diagnoses.[3]

But Healy's last thought — that psychology might be used in a broad variety of ways — was to be lost in a veritable wave of intelligence testing.

With the advent of psychological testing and in particular the concept of intelligence, new dimensions were opened for explaining the causes of delinquency and the problems of the delinquent. But real advances in understanding were hampered by the narrowing of the concept of intelligence. If it was possible to measure and compare the intelligence of different individuals, most psychologists reasoned, then intelligence must be a substance, like fat cells, of which each individual possesses a certain amount and no more, from birth. This concept of intelligence served to impede progress in the education of the delinquent — as much and probably more than it aided in the identification of particular problem areas and handicapped individuals.

While previously it was evident that delinquent youth were not particularly feebleminded, but simply lacking in various forms of development, the intelligence test, allowing fine discriminations between individuals, changed this picture. It led to a general belief in the intellectual inferiority of delinquents.

From a study by George Ordahl in 1917, published in the **Journal of Delinquency:**[4]

> — 25 percent of the minor dependents, 45 percent of the minor delinquents, and 75 percent of the adult delinquents examined for this study are feeble-minded.
>
> — If the feeble-minded and borderline group are combined then 45 percent of the minor dependents and 60 percent of the minor delinquents are below average-normal intelligence.

— In both the minor dependent and minor delinquent groups 60 percent of the parents, so far as data were available, are either alcoholic, immoral, feeble-minded, or insane.

— The chief offenses of the boys are truancy, and offenses against property. That of the girls is immorality.

— Boys below 14 years of age, judging from this study, apparently become delinquent because of a lack of proper home control; boys above this age because they have not the necessary intelligence to make needed adjustments.

— The girls examined apparently became delinquent because they lacked the necessary intelligence or mental balance to control their impulsive tendencies.

The effect of these investigations on educational programs was swift: since delinquent youth were shown to have only limited potential and intellectual resources, there seemed to be no need to plan and develop appropriate programs. In fact, in a sense, for the first half of this century juvenile correctional education took a giant step backward. Where previously education — moral, religious, academic, or vocational — was seen as the basic function of the reformatory, the belief in the inferior intellectual ability of the delinquent (reinforced as it was by **science**) led to a sense of fatalism and greatly reduced attention to educational programs. Only in the most recent years has this fatalistic tendency been reversed, although there has always been a current of criticism accompanying the wave of intelligence testing.

Long before recent revelations regarding racial, cultural, and ethnic bias of standard intelligence tests, some questioned the possibility of impartial interpretation of results. Others questioned the meaning of intergroup comparisons. Still others noted that the testing of delinquents was probably affected by the conditions of confinement. And conscientious investigators in the 1930s and 1940s found that the few studies that carefully matched delinquents with nondelinquents from the same background found little difference between the groups with regard to general and specific intellectual abilities. Harold Williams made a study in 1940 that demonstrated the impurities in sampling and the carelessness of many previous studies. He summarized the results of the studies:

> The more recent studies have yielded, therefore: (1) from 10 to 30 percent feebleminded, (2) a central tendency of about IQ 85, and (3) a very markedly reduced proportion of superior intelligence (3 to 12 percent). Though these results are much higher than the earlier estimates, they range

far below the general population, especially at the upper levels. There seems to be little difference between court and institutional cases.[4]

Even such conscientious investigators as Williams, who corrected many earlier studies, were nevertheless prisoners of the narrow constructs relating to intelligence that had captured the field of psychology as a whole. All too often this belief in the "inferior intelligence" of delinquents became an excuse for failure to implement even a semblance of an educational program in juvenile institutions.

Racial and Ethnic Group Bias

The errors of the era of intelligence testing have been magnified many times over when the subjects of the testing have been nonwhite. In recent surveys comparing white and Black delinquent and nondelinquent groups, we find persistent negative assessment of delinquents in general and of Black delinquents in particular. In 1966, for example, Audrey Shuey reviewed 28 comparative studies that had been conducted between 1919 and 1965. The following excerpts from the studies illustrate the point very well:[5]

> 'Findings indicate that delinquent Negro boys, as a group, are both intellectually and emotionally retarded' (1941).
>
> 'Weighting of scores at lower end of scale may be accounted for by drunkenness, lack of interest, anxiety, but mostly in terms of the general inferiority of the group' (1923).
>
> 'White offenders are significantly more intelligent than Negro offenders' (1936).
>
> 'The results support the idea that inadequate motivation is an extremely important factor in Negro inmates' intellectual test performance' (1965).

Shuey summarized the studies as follows:

> In all twenty-eight of the above studies the colored averaged below the white norms or below the white delinquents with whom they were compared. . . . In the twenty-two studies where the results were given in IQ, the average of the approximately 3489 Negroes was 74.44; in the 15 researches where IQs were reported on comparable groups of white delinquents, the average was 80.64. Therefore the average IQ of the white misdemeanants examined was about 20 points below that of the average white nondelinquent, and about six points above the average obtained on Negro delinquents.[5]

The logical conclusion to be drawn from this is that, regardless of the cause or interpretation of racial differences in the IQ scores, the greatest difference is that between delinquents and nondelinquents. But other studies were finding no significant difference in IQ between delinquent and nondelinquent groups when they were carefully matched for socioeconomic background. And so Williams, for instance, in summarizing his essay on intelligence and delinquency, offered the opinion that "a crucial line of evidence bearing on the present problem is the fact that it has been repeatedly shown that the intelligence of children of socio-economically inferior groups is also, with or without delinquency, inferior."

This still more alarming conclusion had a double impact on the treatment of delinquent children from ethnic minority groups. But there was more to come. The final phase of the intelligence-testing era was characterized by the use of finer and finer instruments, reflecting the latest aspect of the intelligence debate: the conceptual division of intelligence into **abstract** and **concrete** abilities (also called "idea-oriented" and "thing-oriented," "verbal" and "nonverbal," etc.). This division continues to have a strong influence on educational planning both within and outside of institutions. The two categories are reflected in the division of the Wechsler scales into **verbal IQ** and **performance IQ**.

Depending on the tests given and the circumstances, the performance IQs of delinquents may or may not have come out equal to those of nondelinquents. But verbal IQs of both delinquents and nondelinquents have usually registered consistently lower for the lower socioeconomic groups than for the middle classes. The results obtained by John Slawson in 1926 are typical:

> (1) eight out of ten delinquents scored lower than nondelinquents in tests of abstract verbal intelligence.
>
> (2) there was no significant difference in scores on tests of non-verbal intelligence and mechanical aptitude.
>
> (3) there was no correlation between intelligence scores and number of arrests or type of offense.[6]

Although numerous explanations were advanced for the discrepancy (e.g., inherited traits of the several racial and immigrant groups, cultural deprivation, lack of motivation of the "lower classes," etc.), the effect on practice in institutions was the same: decreased emphasis on academic education.

Stress was placed on vocational training and development of manual skills, since IQ tests indicated that while delinquents were generally of inferior intelligence they were at least "good with their hands."

The New Era Begins

Intelligence testing, of course, was not the only activity in juvenile corrections prompted by the rise of the science of psychology. The parallel rise of psychoanalytic theory subjected children to much the same sorts of investigation and treatment, on a more individualized basis. The theory that delinquency represented a more "primitive" form of behavior that remained "latent" in more advanced children, for example, was also used to cloak the societal and racial prejudices that were being justified by intelligence testing. Just as with psychology, the retrograde rather than the constructive aspects of psychoanalytic theory were too often the ones to have the most influence upon the field.

But the past fifteen years have seen a general review and revision of many of the theories of both psychology and psychiatry. And gradually, as has been the case in the past, the revisions are having their impact upon practice in the juvenile correctional field.

The debate over the effects of nature versus nurture on intelligence still rages. But whatever position is taken on this debate, workers in the field of delinquency today place less stress on intelligence altogether as a determining factor in delinquency. The era of civil rights revealed the cultural bias inherent in the standard IQ tests, for example, and began to focus attention upon new concepts of intelligence. Today, the general tendency is toward multifactor and holistic approaches. Contemporary theory is considerably more sophisticated. The highly complex interrelationships of psychological and sociological variables are beginning to be appreciated in all their manifold forms.

But it is only very recently that treatment of delinquents has adopted a planned, systematic "multifactor" or holistic approach based on these theoretical advances, one in which the educational, psychological, emotional, and social needs of the individual are considered integrally and met with a total treatment program.

It should be emphasized that today, as in the past, the field is subject to a process of uneven and combined development. But the proportions of the crisis facing society in the form of delinquent youth press upon us with the need to consciously aid the unfolding of that process. It would be simple if all the educators and workers in the field who cling to past theories and practices could simply relinquish their ideas, or if public policy could simply be changed to reflect new ideas overnight — but that is not at present the case. So we will begin with a study of where the field has arrived at today, keeping in mind the history and the general lines of development we have set forth.

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SURVEY OF TEACHERS, TEACHING, AND PUPILS IN JUVENILE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE WEST

We have noted the changes in emphasis that occurred during the first century of operation of juvenile institutions in this country. The various studies and assays made during this period provide much insight into the goals and philosophies of the times. Nevertheless, most reports were subjective in nature; hard data studies were practically nonexistent. The studies that began to appear in the second decade of the twentieth century, most of which concentrated upon intelligence test findings, were also based on unexamined assumptions. In general, we must admit the lack of sound research into the question of education in juvenile institutions.

To lay the groundwork for a new era in which policies and programs can be based on concrete, verifiable findings is quite a task. As part of that task, we undertook a systematic survey of youthful offenders in educational programs in juvenile correctional institutions in the West. The survey was completed in late 1972, and it may be the first such survey conducted in this field with the aim of developing comprehensive data on the educational approaches taken toward youthful offenders.

For this survey, all state juvenile correctional institutions in the West were asked to supply information about their teachers, their education programs, and their pupils. Neither juvenile halls nor federal institutions were included. The population of the surveyed institutions was estimated at 6,205 in December 1972. All inmates had been committed on delinquency petitions.

Data was obtained about the educational program, the teachers, and the students themselves. The survey included questions about the types of programs offered, the kinds of teaching methods used, the training and background of teachers and their opportunities for continuing education, the present achievement levels of students, and the current learning difficulties of students.

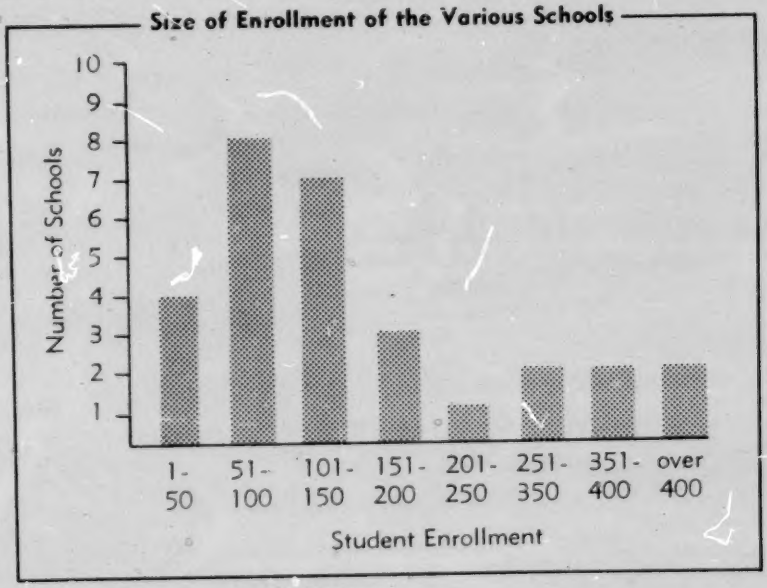
Superintendents of the 40 western juvenile correctional institutions were contacted and asked if they would be interested in participating in the survey. Response to this inquiry was positive, and questionnaires were then sent to the education directors of each institution. Four of the 40 institutions had no educational program. These were not included in the survey. Of the remaining 36, 29 (slightly over 80 percent) responded to our questionnaire.

Education directors completed a four-page questionnaire providing an overview of the educational program. Teachers completed one-page questionnaires providing information about themselves. Data concerning the students were obtained by asking the first-period teachers to complete a brief questionnaire for each of their first-period students. In all, 381 teachers participated in the survey, providing information on 2,905 students.

Organization of Educational Programs

Participating institutions reported a total of 5,268 students enrolled in educational programs — an average enrollment of about 180 students per school. (Many institutions are relatively small, with over 40 percent having 100 or fewer inmates. The smallest school had an enrollment of 31; the largest had 1,080. Figure 1 shows the distribution of actual size of enrollment.)

FIGURE 1



Of individuals in correctional institutions who are of elementary school age, virtually all are enrolled in some educational program. Only two institutions report less than 100 percent of this age group in school. On the other hand, in only 41 percent of the institutions are all the high school age students in school. Approximately one-quarter of the institutions report that at least 20 percent of these individuals are not receiving educational training. In total, roughly 77 percent of the institutionalized youths are enrolled in school.

Virtually all the institutions offer academic programs, and a substantial number also offer vocational and/or remedial training. About one-third of the institutions conduct programs for handicapped or special students. Table 1 shows number and percent of schools which have various types of programs. (Among the programs listed as "other" in the table are such things as recreational programs, work programs, law and justice awareness, and family life education.)

TABLE 1

Number and Percent of Institutions Having Various Programs

Program	Number of Institutions	Percent
Academic	28	97%
Vocational	23	79%
Remedial	24	83%
For Handicapped/Special Students	9	31%
Other	11	38%

Many students are enrolled in more than one school program. Table 2 shows the number and percent of students enrolled in each program. Approximately two-thirds are enrolled in an academic program, and about one-half are receiving vocational training. Over one-quarter are in remedial programs, some in conjunction with other types of training.

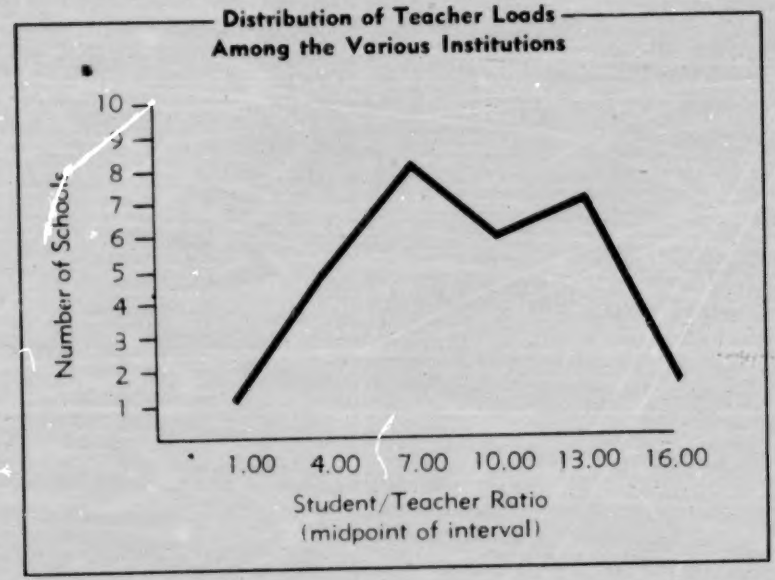
TABLE 2

Number and Percent of Students in Each Type of Program

Program	Number of Students	Percent
Academic	3539	67%
Vocational	2526	48%
Remedial	1488	28%
For Handicapped/Special Students	288	4%
Other	358	7%

The 29 institutions employ 584 full-time teachers and 12 part-time teachers. Assuming the average part-time teacher works 50 percent of the time, the total teacher force is estimated to be equivalent to 590 full-time positions, or an overall student-teacher ratio of 8.93 students for each teacher. The size of teacher load is plotted against the number of schools in Figure 2. The figure shows a broad range of student-teacher ratios among the various schools. Actually the average ratio compares favorably with the public schools.

FIGURE 2



Approximately one-third of the teachers conduct vocational training courses, with the remainder working mostly in the academic area (including remedial teaching). Since about half the students are in vocational programs, this suggests that there is a somewhat higher student load for vocational instructors than for academic teachers.

The teachers' salaries for the most part come from the budgets of the correctional institution itself, particularly in the case of vocational teachers, as Table 3 indicates. Normally the local school district pays for a relatively small number of teachers. Other, state, and federal funds fall in the same category. In some states, the school district is required by legislation to provide the educational program for the nearby institution. It seems fair to say that since the majority of teachers are employees of the correctional institution rather than of the outside school district, they may be more dependent upon and responsive to the policies and goals of the correctional system than those of the broader education system outside. Whether this is good or bad depends, of course, on the nature of those policies and goals. The crucial point is that in terms of the source of their livelihood, the teachers can usually be accurately termed corrections workers. However, as will be shown later, their educational backgrounds are not primarily in the field of corrections or even special education. Furthermore, fewer than half the schools' education directors report anything more than "minimal" opportunity for in-service training of teachers.

TABLE 3

Sources of Salaries for Teachers (in Percent)

Source of Salary Funds	Academic Teachers	Vocational Teachers
Correctional Institution	67%	83%
Local School District	15%	3%
State	7%	2%
Federal	11%	4%
Other	1%	8%

Thus it is logical that questions may arise about the role of the teacher in the correctional setting and the type of training appropriate for this job. Is a teacher in such a school basically a corrections officer or an educator? Is there a conflict between these two roles? Historically,

such a conflict has been reported in practice, and there has yet to be a definitive statement on these questions.

Approaches to Education

In addition to traditional approaches to education, many institutions use newer techniques and methods and they also offer other than traditional academic and vocational programs. The extent to which these newer techniques, methods, and programs are used is shown in Tables 4 and 5. Table 4 shows the number and percent of institutions utilizing the various techniques, methods, and programs, while Table 5 gives the number and percent of students involved in each.

About 80 percent of the institutional schools use individually prescribed instruction and about half the students participate in this. Programmed instruction and the learning center concepts are employed by over half of the schools, but only about one-fifth of the students

TABLE 4

Number and Percent of Schools Utilizing Various Techniques, Methods, and Programs

Techniques	Number	Percent
Individually prescribed instruction	23	79%
Programmed instruction	16	55%
Learning center	17	59%
Other	5	17%
Methods		
Self-instruction	12	41%
Tutorial	18	62%
Other	7	24%
Programs		
Teacher Corps	4	14%
Work-Study	18	62%
Other	9	31%

are involved. Other innovative techniques and methods are not at all widespread in terms of the numbers of students involved. However some schools are using such techniques as contingency contracting and behavior modification, as well as some interdisciplinary or team teaching.

Only four schools are involved in Teacher Corps programs and 18 have work-study programs. A number of schools utilize other programs, but only 11 percent of the students are involved in them. Specific social skills needed in dealing with real-life problems outside the institution are taught in a very few schools. For example, one program is offered in "survival education" which includes health, home management, legal rights, and how to get a job.

TABLE 5

Number and Percent of Students Involved in Various Techniques, Methods, and Programs

Techniques	Number	Percent
Individually prescribed instruction	2548	48%
Programmed instruction	1072	20%
Learning center	1154	22%
Other	355	7%
Methods		
Self-instruction	706	13%
Tutorial	1477	28%
Other	1020	19%
Programs		
Teacher Corps	543	10%
Work-Study	1757	33%
Other	555	11%

A large proportion of schools are experimenting with innovative programs. Aid in evaluating such programs to determine the degree of success is needed. While about four-fifths of the schools report that their instructional programs are evaluated to determine effects on the

students, most appear to be evaluating individual student progress through the process of either periodic tests or staff discussion. Actual **program** evaluation is minimal. A number of education directors expressed a need and desire for evaluations in comments like these: "We have been remiss in the realm of research — and are now suffering for it." "Evaluation is done on an informal, unscientific basis. This is another area where research and data collection are sorely needed."

Manpower and resources to conduct a large number of comprehensive studies are lacking, but the value of such studies is unquestionable and the need for them has already been identified by many institutional education directors. A good foundation already exists, because all schools report that students are tested before being placed in a particular grade, level, or program. Data already exist which could form the basis for well-designed and controlled follow-up studies of the comparative effects of various experimental teaching techniques and programs.

On the other hand, while students are tested upon entering the institutional school, only about one-third of the schools provide any type of placement or follow-up after the student leaves. Eight schools provide job placement, eight provide placement in further vocational training, and ten provide placement within the public school system. Over 60 percent provide no placement or follow-up at all.

There is little collaboration between schools for the juvenile offender and the public school system except occasional crediting of school work done in the institution. Fewer than half the schools report collaboration with local school systems on curricula; only seven collaborate on administration; and just five collaborate on finances. Schools for the offender are to a large degree isolated from the educational systems in the community not only in terms of follow-up and placement, but also in terms of ongoing education. This reflects the traditional corrections viewpoint, the hangover from the past, that incarceration means almost complete removal from society.

School Resources and Special Problems

Most education directors surveyed felt they had adequate classrooms, but over one-third said they had insufficient books, library facilities, and special materials (see Table 6). Several education directors mentioned the lack of educational materials, including books, which could stimulate and interest the students. Education directors felt they needed more shop space, tools, and supplies. While about three-quarters of the directors report a sufficient number of classroom teachers, there is a need for staff with special skills in working with confined youth.

As one education director put it: "We have plenty of teachers, but not necessarily the right kind."

TABLE 6

Percent of Education Directors Judging Their Resources as Sufficient and as Not Sufficient

	Sufficient	Not Sufficient
Classrooms	93%	7%
Books/library materials	62%	38%
Teachers	72%	28%
Special materials (Shop, A-V, etc.)	64%	36%

Another comment was typical of several observations: "We feel a need for support staff: an educational psychoiogist, and a curriculum coordinator, a diagnostician, and prescription developer." The need for school psychologists and counselors was also frequently mentioned.

In commenting on the special problems and frustrations of the attempt to deliver education to this population, directors frequently alluded to the special characteristics of the juvenile offender. One education director said: "My experience with this group has led me to believe that their educational problems are the least of those that confront them." In particular, poor motivation, negative self-image, and the attitude of failure were said to be prevalent. A typical educator's comment was ". . . lack of motivation on the part of students due to previous failure and poor experiences in the public school setting is the single largest obstacle for them." Another said, "the greatest barrier to student progress involves overcoming the past feelings of frustrations so solidly held by the student."

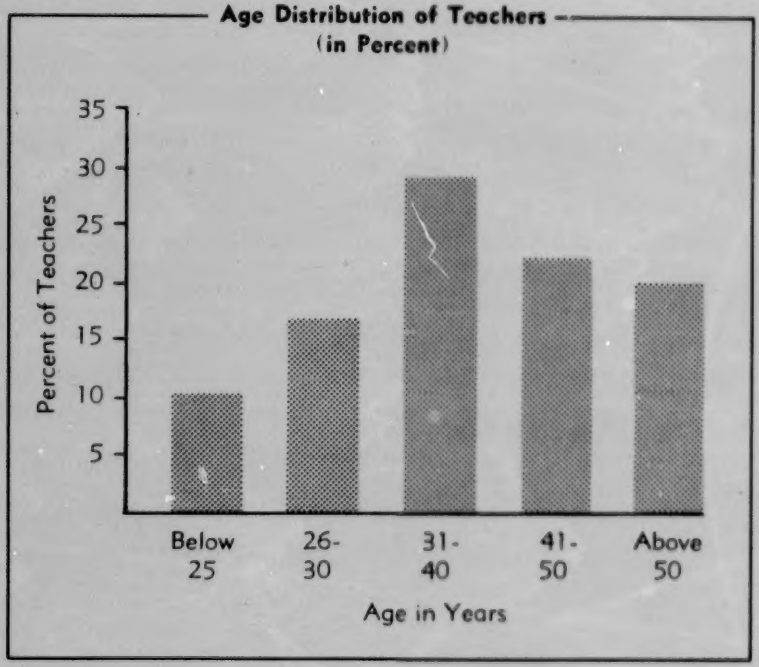
It is not surprising, then, that the second most frequently encountered problem, judging by the education directors' comments, was the lack of specially trained teachers to cope with the problems of these special students. In some cases, schools reported receiving neurologically handicapped students and said that they simply did not have adequate resources to teach them.

Very low prior achievement levels, disciplinary difficulties, emotional and social instability, and similar student characteristics were also mentioned as widespread problems requiring special education teachers or other specially trained personnel.

Teachers

Questionnaires included a page of specific information about first-period teachers in all schools responding to the survey. The base was 381 teachers, roughly two-thirds of the total teacher force. Seventy-one percent of the teachers were men. Their age distribution is shown in Figure 3. Significantly, about three-quarters of the teachers were above age 30, with almost one-quarter above the age of 50.

FIGURE 3



Although the teachers are not a particularly young group, a large proportion of them are relatively new to the teaching profession, especially to teaching in the field of corrections (see Table 7). Over half have been teaching in correctional institutions for less than five years. Further examination of the data shows that over one-third have been teaching three or less years in the field of corrections. Many have had prior teaching experience outside corrections; nonetheless, 40 percent have had five or fewer years of teaching experience in any school, correctional or otherwise.

TABLE 7

Years of Teaching Experience in Any School and in the Field of Corrections (in Percent)

Number of Years	In Any School	In Corrections
Five or less	40%	52%
6-10	24%	29%
11-15	19%	14%
16 or more	17%	5%

About one-tenth of the teachers enter teaching in corrections from other criminal justice vocations, as Table 8 indicates. The largest source of corrections teachers is, not surprisingly, noncorrections teaching. About a fifth come directly from student status.

TABLE 8

Teachers Area of Previous Employment (in Percent)

Area	Percent
Student	20%
Teaching (not in corrections)	40%
Other criminal justice locations	9%
Military	7%
Religious	2%
Helping/social services	1%
Other	21%

Teachers' salaries are not directly comparable across school systems because of differences in the time span covered by different contracts. As nearly as could be determined, annual salaries have a broad range, from about $6,000 to over $16,000. However, this does not mean that the lower figure represents the typical starting salary or that the higher figure represents the typical salary for an experienced teacher. There appears to be considerable variation among schools in terms of money. Median salary for all teachers in the survey was $11,363.

By and large, teachers have adequate educational background on the basis of their academic degrees, although their training has not generally been appropriate to teaching in correctional institutions. Table 9 shows the percentage of teachers attaining various educational levels.

TABLE 9

Educational Background of Teachers (in Percent)

Highest Level Achieved	Percent
High school	2%
Some college/A.R. degree	10%
Bachelor's degree	12%
Some graduate work	50%
Master's degree or above	25%

Table 10 shows the major subject of those who attended college. Seventy-five percent have had at least some work beyond the bachelor's degree, with 25 percent attaining a master's degree. About half majored in secondary education. Only 19 percent, however, had a special education major. It should be remembered that the teacher group is an older group with over one-quarter beyond 50 years of age. Many completed their education prior to the advent of special education programs in teacher colleges. The 19 percent figure includes some who have also had other education training as well. Individuals who have had a non-education major account for 17 percent or about one out of every six teachers.

TABLE 10

Major Subject of Those Teachers Who Attended College (in Percent)

Major Subject	Percent
Elementary education	9%
Secondary education	49%
Special education	19%
Other education major	6%
Noneducation major	17%

Table 11 shows the percent of teachers who judge their training as adequate or not adequate for teaching in the field of corrections. Only 57 percent felt their formal education was adequate, while over two-thirds felt their in-service or continuing education was adequate.

TABLE 11

Percent of Teachers Who Judge Their Training as Adequate or Not Adequate

	Adequate	Not Adequate
Formal education	57%	43%
In-service or continuing education	71%	29%

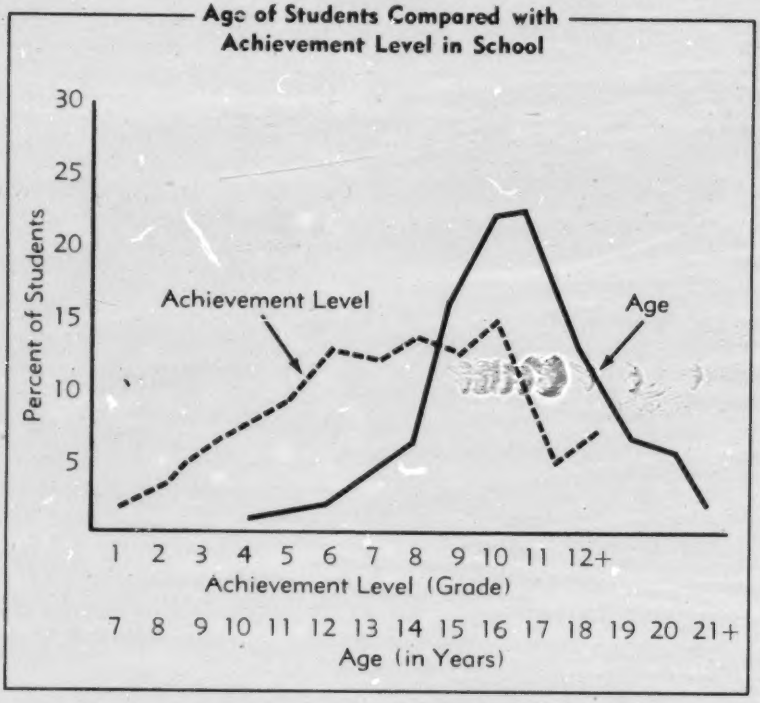
Students

Approximately three-quarters of the students in schools for juvenile offenders are boys. Their mean age is 16.68 years, which normally would correspond to a school grade approximately halfway through high school. The academic achievement level of these students, however, averages around seventh grade, in human terms a very sad statistic.

Figure 4 shows age distribution plotted by percent of students, along with a similar graph which shows academic achievement level

of the students. By comparing the two curves it is obvious that an extremely large proportion of students has achieved considerably below the level appropriate to their age. Although only about 10 percent are below high school age, for example, 60 percent of the students have not achieved beyond the eighth grade.

FIGURE 4



Problems that the teachers report as interfering with learning for these students are shown in Table 12. The problems perceived are pervasive and widespread. Close to half the students are seen as having reading difficulties or other problems requiring remedial training. Seventy-one percent are reported as having behavioral or social problems that interfere with their ability to make academic progress. About half are said to have learning difficulties aggravated by a culturally deprived background, and 43 percent are described as having emotional problems that also form a barrier to academic achievement. A third are listed as unmotivated to learn, and 6 percent appear to be mentally retarded. Four percent have physical handicaps of a kind that makes schoolwork difficult for them.

TABLE 12

Percent of Students with Various Problems Interfering with Learning

Problem	Percent
Physical handicap	4%
Emotional handicap	45%
Reading difficulty	46%
Other remedial problems	47%
Culturally disadvantaged	48%
Behavioral or social problems	71%
Not motivated to learn	35%
Appears mentally retarded	6%

The picture of the juvenile offender seen through the eyes of his teachers is a student with serious problems.

Perceived Barriers to Student Learning

It is unquestionably true that students in schools for the juvenile offender are underachieving. Table 13 shows the percent of students whose achievement level differs from their actual grade in school. At elementary grade levels, nearly half the students are already achieving below their school grade, but over a quarter are achieving above their current grade. However, by the time they reach the junior high school grades, virtually three out of every four students are behind the level they should be at according to age and years in school. Only 7 percent are achieving above their current grade. This situation continues through the high school grades. Widespread underachievement is compounded by the fact that many students are enrolled in grades lower than are appropriate to their ages in the first place.

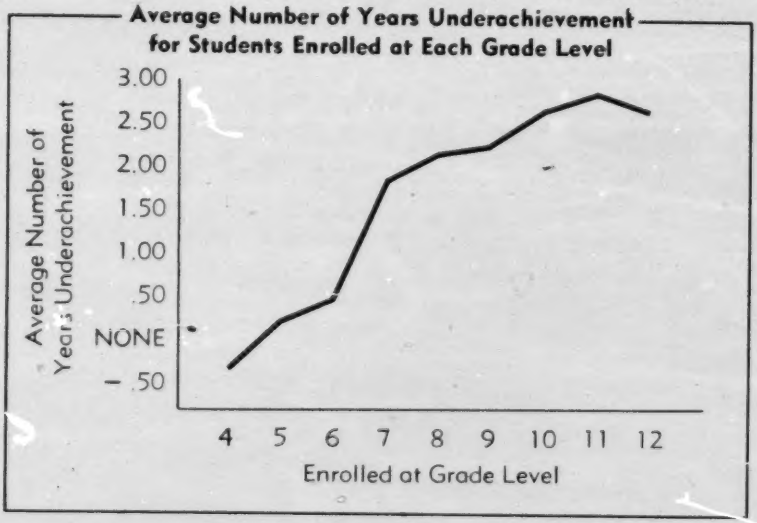
TABLE 13

Percent of Students Whose Achievement Level Differs from Their Actual Grade in School

Students Enrolled in	Percent Achieving Below Grade in School	Percent Achieving Above Grade in School
Elementary school level (Grades 1-6)	42%	28%
Junior high school level (Grades 7-8)	72%	7%
High school level (Grades 9-12)	74%	7%

The situation gets worse as students progress through the system, as shown in Figure 5. The graph shows the average number of grades of underachievement at each of the various grade levels. By the time most students reach seventh grade, they are already a year and a half behind the normal achievement of their grade; the average high school senior has reached no further than a first-year high school level of knowledge.

FIGURE 5



At this point in the survey, the teachers were asked to make some subjective observations. Thus the material reported in this section differs from data presented earlier. Teachers were asked to interpret the behavior of their students, and such interpretations are subject to bias with no reliable means of measurement because they are fundamentally value judgments. In some ways, the assessment of students by teachers may tell us as much about teachers as about students.

The studies and essays cited in the chapter on historical development were based on precisely this kind of intuitive and value-laden observation. The striking fact about present-day observations and those of earlier periods is their similarity, not their differences.

The subjective portion of this survey was included in order to capture the prevailing orientation of teachers today toward the cause of problems. How teachers think about a problem may explain, at least in part, how they attempt to solve it.

What forces do teachers see at work to create such pervasive and widespread barriers to student progress? Table 12 indicated some problems teachers say appear to be interfering with learning. Included are emotional problems, reading difficulties, and cultural deprivation (refer to Table 12 for the percent of students with each of these problems). The typical student in a school for the juvenile offender is said to be beset with multiple difficulties, as Table 14 indicates. Over half the students, for example, have at least three of these problems, and one out of every three students has at least four. Fully 88 percent of the individuals have at least one special problem that interferes with their ability to learn, according to their teachers.

TABLE 14

Percent of Students with Various Numbers of Special Problems Interfering with Learning

Percent of students with one or more special problems	88%
Percent of students with two or more special problems	71%
Percent of students with three or more special problems	52%
Percent of students with four or more special problems	34%
Percent of students with five or more special problems	21%

Those special problems particularly associated with lack of student progress can be seen in Figure 6. Each of the graphs in this figure shows the relationship between degree of underachievement and a specific personal problem. Each point on a given curve shows the percent of students who are said to have a particular problem plotted against the number of years below grade level of underachievement. Thus, the curve representing reading difficulty, for example, shows that the greater the number of years a student is behind his grade level, the more likely he is to have reading problems. In fact, the relationship is almost perfectly linear. On the other hand, there appears to be no significant relationship between underachievement and the presence of a physical handicap; i.e., about the same percentage of students are physically handicapped at every level of underachievement.

Reading difficulties, other problems requiring remedial training, problems arising from a culturally deprived environment, and mental retardation all appear to be dramatically related to underachievement. Surprisingly, lack of motivation to learn does not seem to be quite as linearly related to the degree of underachievement. The curve shows that approximately the same percentage of students are said to lack motivation at all levels. Apparently, lack of motivation is a condition believed to plague from 30 to 50 percent of the students regardless of their degree of academic attainment. Behavioral or social problems appear somewhat related to the degree of underachievement, although these problems are said to be very high — over 60 percent — at all levels. Emotional problems, similarly, are relatively high throughout the entire range and do show an increase associated with increasing underachievement.

It is impossible to say from these data alone which factor is the cause and which the effect. No doubt the interrelationships are complex, forming a closed cycle of problems that cause failure, which in turn causes further problems, and so forth. Figure 7 gives some indication of the interrelationship of reading difficulty with other problems. The figure compares the percent of individuals with and without the various special problems who also have reading difficulty. This problem was selected for illustration since reading ability appears central to academic success. It can also be measured more accurately than the others.

Without exception, those students with special problems are considerably more likely to have difficulty with reading than those without a particular special problem. For example, more than two-thirds of the students who are said to come from culturally deprived backgrounds have reading problems, compared to about one-quarter of the students who are not considered culturally deprived.

FIGURE 6

Degree of Underachievement Related to Each of the Various Special Problems

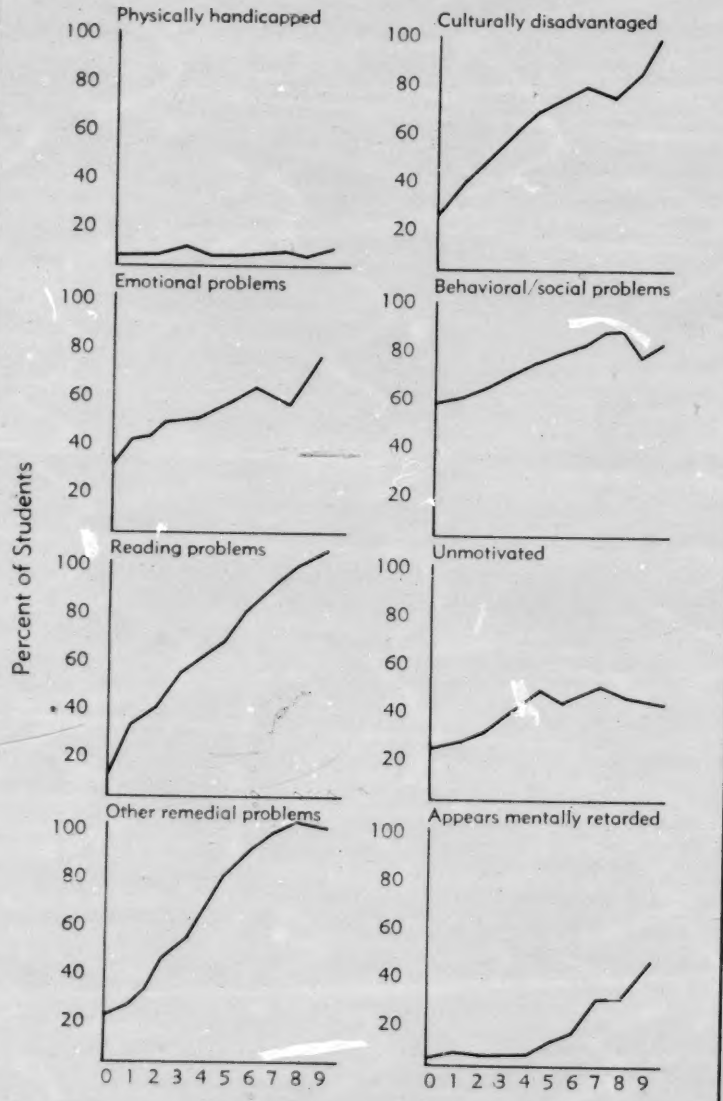
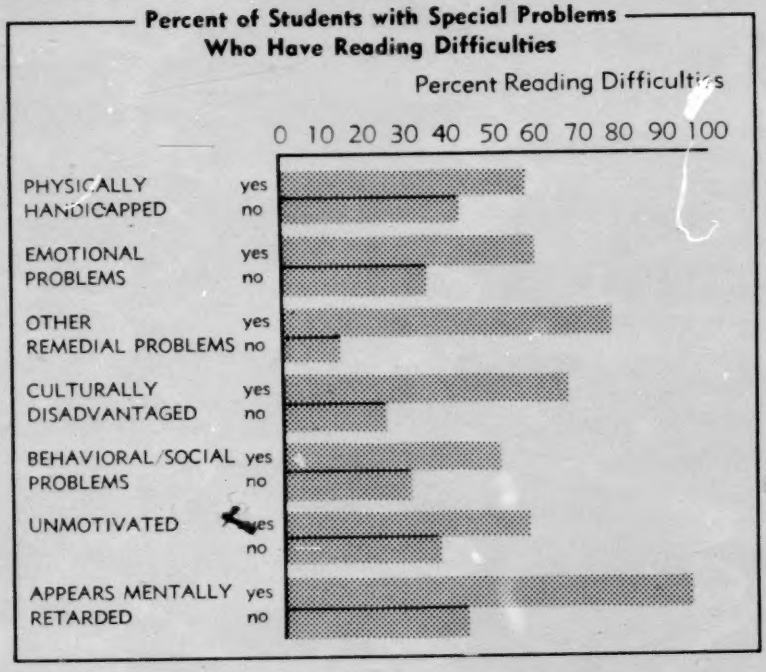


FIGURE 7



In another subjective question, teachers were asked to describe briefly the most significant barrier to learning for each student in each first-period class. Some of the comments appear below, roughly structured into categories. It should be emphasized that the categorization is simply an aid for the reader. Because the responses represented subjective observations and assessments and thus varied widely among teachers, it is impossible to create categories which do not overlap. What one teacher calls cultural deprivation is an emotional problem to another.

The following comments are typical for each broad category:

Lack of motivation/defeatist attitude

- Lack of interest — no projection for value of learning.
- Was working as a prostitute, so doesn't think school would do any good when paroled.
- Cannot see any need to go to school.
- Repeated failure has resulted in unwillingness to try.
- Not motivated to learn. Poor expectation for future.

Learning disabilities/intellectual deficiencies

- Doesn't have adequate retentive ability.
- Slow learner.
- Borderline mental deficiency.
- Severe reading problem. Intelligence appears to be major factor.
- Brain damaged.
- Perceptual problems.
- Student seems to have been damaged from excessive glue sniffing.
- Student has a slow reaction to the spoken word. Reading comprehension is weak.
- He does not learn quickly because he is mentally retarded.

Lack of basic skills and knowledge

- Very poor in spelling and writing.
- Low reading level — vocabulary 2.3; comprehension 2.5 (for 20-year-old student).
- Major reading problem.
- Almost a complete lack of previous education.
- She is having to learn many things which she should have learned earlier in her education.
- Lack of reading skills is chief barrier to this student's progress.

Problems in emotional development

- I see him as having severe unmet dependency needs.
- If he is confident he does very well, but if he detects an obstacle he goes to pieces.
- He is very disturbed and has spent six months at the mental hospital.
- I cannot say what his problem is — he becomes very depressed at times.
- Problems of small stature and mixed ethnic identity.
- Social problems concerning his masculinity.
- Needs psychiatric help.
- Active homosexual.
- Restless and extremely excitable — very unstable.
- Lack of self-esteem.
- Functions in a state of anxiety.
- Weak ego girl who is afraid of boys and men. Male teachers have terrified her.
- Severely emotionally disturbed.
- Lives in a state of fantasy.
- Seems terrified of environment.
- Very poor self-concept.

Sense of loneliness, isolation, or rejection

- Poor peer relations. Very lonely.
- Needs to find out that somebody cares.
- Student seems to have been rejected by her family.
- He needs someone who respects him before teaching can begin.
- Needs guidance, direction to go in life, a father image, and some concern for his welfare.
- Father incarcerated. Depressed, directionless.
- There is no one in his family who wants him.
- She has no home where she is wanted.
- Hopeless despair about herself. There is no past, present, or future for her.

Educationally and culturally disadvantaged

- Student is now educationally disadvantaged, and his culture deters motivation to attempt to regain ground that he has lost.
- Simply educationally handicapped.
- Comes from culturally and economically deprived social setting.
- Will be difficult for this student to compensate for the cultural disadvantages he has already experienced.
- Culturally deprived. Only child in ten who is not retarded. Parents also retarded.

Race problems

- Race conflict seems to be a part of the roots of the culture from whence he came.
- Color of his skin.
- Mexican-American descent living in an area where these people are looked down on.
- Hung up on white supremacy.
- Racial conflicts.
- The student feels handicapped by attendance at schools where teachers showed prejudice.

Problems with authority

- Unwilling to accept adult guidance.
- Very negative attitude toward others, particularly adults.
- Fear of adults.
- Student shows bitterness toward authority, i.e., adults, probably with good reason.
- He has complete contempt for any authority figure.

Peer group dependency

- Gang orientation.
- In order to gain peer approval, he refuses to acknowledge or follow any school routines.
- Motivated toward maintaining his status in gang activity.
- Peer pressure is the most important barrier.
- Is easily influenced by others who do not wish to learn.
- He has asked me to teach him the alphabet, but keep it from his peers.

Drug involvement

- Drugs are all she can think of.

Laziness

- Just plain lazy.

The range of comments is revealing. While teachers differ in the sophistication they bring to their observations, there is nevertheless one constant: students are overwhelmingly viewed as severely disturbed, exhibiting complicated problems, unique needs, and a variety of special characteristics. The comments underline the need for personnel who are highly trained in various specialized disciplines and highly motivated to work with the juvenile offender. The comments suggest many directions for further study. What is the impact upon teachers of students for whom they have not been prepared? What concepts and theories do such teachers apply in their evaluations? For example, what do teachers mean by intelligence, motivation, depression, cultural deprivation?

For preliminary answers to some of these questions, it is necessary to tackle the question of the overall adequacy of teacher training, insofar as our survey enabled us to judge it.

Adequacy of Teacher Training

Teachers by and large have adequate educational backgrounds from the point of view of degrees earned (refer back to Table 9 [page 34] for the percent of teachers who obtained various degrees). However, their training has not generally addressed the special needs and characteristics of students in juvenile corrections institutions. About 60 percent of the teachers have had a standard elementary or secondary education background while only 19 percent had a special education major. Furthermore, about one out of every six teachers did not major in any type of education. Table 15 shows the percent of teachers who

judged their training as inadequate in preparing them for teaching in schools for the juvenile offender. Nearly half the teachers of academic subjects judged their formal education as inadequate, as did about a third of the vocational teachers. Slightly more than one-quarter of all teachers felt their in-service or continuing education was inadequate. It appears, however, that teachers are more satisfied with in-service or continuing education than they are with their formal training.

TABLE 15

Percent of Teachers Who Judge Their Training as Being Not Adequate

	Formal Education "Not Adequate"	In-service/ Cont. Ed. "Not Adequate"
Teachers of academic subjects	47%	29%
Teachers of vocational subjects	34%	28%
All teachers combined	44%	29%

Other indications that teachers appreciate in-service training or continuing education programs can be seen in Table 16.

TABLE 16

Percent of Teachers Judging In-Service/Continuing Education as Being Not Adequate Compared with In-Service Programs Available at the Institution

Programs Available	Percent Judging "Not Adequate"
None/minimal	33%
Adequate	26%
Extensive	19%

Among the comments teachers wrote regarding their in-service training were the following:

- Little of it was from the angle of education.
- Fine as far as it has gone, but I need more.
- What I learned, I picked up by trial and error.
- Yes (it was adequate), but I had to do it on my own time at my own expense for the most part, on my own initiative.
- In-service training has been rather hit-or-miss. There seems to be no master plan for proper preparation for the type of ward, their needs, their potential, and their goals.

Many teachers would like more in-service training, particularly training dealing systematically with specific problems they encounter with juvenile offenders. However, since 81 percent of the teachers judge their in-service training to be adequate at institutions where programs are extensively offered, it appears a less serious problem than deficiencies in prior formal education of teachers. For institutions offering less extensive programs, the mandate is clear.

Some paradoxes exist with regard to what type of formal education satisfies the teachers. Table 17 shows that teachers with less than a bachelor's degree are just as satisfied with their formal education as those with a master's degree.

TABLE 17

Percent of Teachers with Various Academic Degrees Who Judge Their Formal Education as Being Not Adequate

Academic Degree Attained	Percent Judging "Not Adequate"
Some college/A.A. degree	32%
Bachelor's degree	58%
Some graduate work	49%
Master's degree or above	32%

Those most dissatisfied are trained at the bachelor's level, but half of those with some work beyond a bachelor's degree are still dissatisfied. Furthermore, the major seems to be of little consequence in determining what proportion of teachers found their training adequate, as Table 18 shows. In fact, fewer teachers with secondary education majors found their training adequate than those with noneducation majors.

TABLE 18

Percent of Teachers with Various Majors Who Judge Their Formal Education as Being Not Adequate

College Major	Percent Judging "Not Adequate"
Elementary education	39%
Secondary education	49%
Special education	40%
Noneducation	42%

It is not startling that teachers under 30 years old are twice as likely as teachers over 30 to report their formal education as inadequate. Over two-thirds of these younger teachers judged their formal education as inadequate. Since many teachers are learning more from experience than from their formal education, the older, more experienced teachers no doubt feel somewhat more confidence in their ability to handle the situations they encounter. It is doubtful whether their original training was more adequate. They, too, may have felt ill-prepared at the outset of their teaching careers.

In any case, no amount of the standard, traditional teacher education and none of the standard education major areas seem to have uniformly provided teachers with the kind of training they feel they need for teaching in correctional institutions. The following comments are typical of the attitude of a great many teachers toward their formal educations:

- My preparation did not involve any specific training in teaching our type of pupil.
- Not enough on handling discipline problems.
- My education was oriented toward the more "typical" student in the public school.
- I had no information on what to do with delinquent students.
- In my educational background I found no courses that prepared me for educationally deprived students.
- I learned more in the first six months of teaching than I did in all four years of college.
- Secondary teaching preparatory courses never included more than the mention of words such as corrections, delinquency problems, or prevention.

- Need more psychology and social work.
- Could use coursework in the special education area and in working with the emotionally disturbed.
- It has not been very realistic in preparing me.
- Need more formal education pertaining to special education programs.
- Not enough time was spent in the behavioral area.
- Some formal education courses sound excellent in theory, but their application is not practical.
- I have no background in teaching reading. All my students are below grade level.
- Formal teacher training was directed toward the achieving, middle-class student. Our present students are generally the drop-outs and failures of this system.
- No prior training or experience in remedial education.
- I have no training in working with mentally retarded.
- Formal education was not geared to the drug subculture.
- I would have liked more training in dealing with emotionally unstable students.
- Poor preparation for behavioral problems.

These comments reflect the primary complaints of those teachers who found their formal education inadequate.

There was virtually no training related to the type of student they are encountering in the correctional institution. The types of problems that these teachers were not trained to handle include:

- Educationally deprived students.
- The mentally retarded.
- Disciplinary problems.
- The emotionally disturbed.
- Students with behavioral problems.
- Students with reading deficiencies.
- Non-middle-class, non-achievement-oriented students.
- Students requiring remedial training.
- Students from the drug subculture.

It should be noted that teachers who made these comments had good educational backgrounds from the viewpoint of academic degrees. Eighty-five percent of this subsample had at least some graduate work, including 20 percent who had obtained master's degrees. Almost all had education majors.

Academic attainments alone are clearly insufficient indicators of a teacher's readiness to enter the field of juvenile corrections. The training appropriate for teachers entering the typical public school setting is simply not adequate for teaching juvenile offenders. The results of our survey point inescapably to the conclusion that formal training for entry into this area of teaching must be designed and delivered.

3

CURRENT ISSUES IN EDUCATION FOR JUVENILE OFFENDERS

ISSUES WITHIN INSTITUTIONAL CLASSROOMS

Most people agree that children need to feel competent, useful, and reasonably secure. Further, they need to exercise some power over their lives, and they must belong somewhere in society. A primary role of schooling is to transmit culture and prepare youth to enter society as productive citizens.

In our increasingly complex world, the family can no longer provide adequate training or skills in many fundamental areas of social adaptation. Public schools have shouldered a large portion of this burden. The responsibility falls also — and perhaps more heavily — on correctional institutions for youth. As shown in the survey, the teachers in such institutions view their students as having serious social deficiencies. They also feel that rehabilitation of young offenders can come through positive educational development.

Part of the problem has been that correctional educators have not agreed upon what should be taught and how it should be taught. Many institutions have primarily taught what amounts to courses in adjustment to institutional existence. Others have tried to teach adjustment to society, with the most unrealistic expectation that young people removed from contact with society can simultaneously acquire the basic skills and knowledge essential to being a productive member of that society.

In trying to resolve the problems of content and perspective that are thus raised, educators have identified and defined a number of broad issues. We shall attempt to present a few of these below.

Knowledge and Skills Needed

Young people require knowledge and skills for effective development and social interaction. These must form the basis for planning a

correctional education program. The most basic skills of reading, writing, and computing should be seen in the broad context of personal development, rather than as obstacles to be overcome or prerequisites for further education.

Reading must be seen as the basic means to understand the world outside one's immediate environment. Communication in speech or writing is a tool for expressing and receiving ideas, forming the basis for self-expression, self-awareness, and interpersonal awareness. And computational skills will assure functioning in a world increasingly reliant on arithmetic and mathematics, affecting the individual in personal life as well as on the job.

In addition to these basic skills, an education program must include the following content, often referred to in current parlance as "survival-oriented" information and skills:

- **The world of work.** How work is organized; the values inherent in work roles; social, political, and economic determinants of employment and types of employment; the environmental impact of work.

- **Politics.** The role of politics in a democratic society; the organization of political decision making; the responsibilities for political action; the manner in which people exercise political action; the nature of constitutional and human rights.

- **Culture.** The contributions made by the many racial, ethnic, and cultural groups in this society; an examination of language as a flexible tool of communication; the study of art forms and their individual and social impact; the development of cultural values related to facts, faith, and opinion.

- **Intrapersonal and interpersonal awareness.** The kinds of social interaction which are possible; the examination of natural and normal psychological states; facts about physiological development.

- **Leisure.** Possible and available leisure activities; the psychological and physiological consequences of such activities; activities that can be learned and pursued throughout life.

Curriculum Design

Teaching all of the survival-oriented basic knowledge and skills requires considering them as an organic whole, rather than as fragmented or compartmentalized segments. While an increasing number of institutions are experimenting with an integrated curriculum (see Appendix A for specific programs), much more needs to be done.

The integrated approach is helping to reduce the former sharp

distinction between academic and vocational education. Many programs center around learning proficiency areas, and skills are taught as they are needed for development toward specific career goals. The increased relevance of such an approach to each individual student results in higher student interest.

The change to a more integrated curriculum design is in part a result of the broadening of the scope of many careers. There is no longer a simple division between the blue-collar world of, say, welding, woodwork, and engine repair on the one hand and the white-collar world of college preparation leading to office work on the other. Programs in institutions are beginning to reflect this by reaching out and offering a wide variety of prerequisites for competency in a vast array of technical, semitechnical, semiprofessional, and human service occupations.

The logical outgrowth of this change seems clear enough. Correctional educators must work with the local communities to develop the **career ladder** concept. Training and skills development cannot be seen as a mechanical route to a dead-end job slot; rather, they are part of a continuous process of improvement in abilities and career potential. Many educators now believe that the most realistic training for careers is a combination of job experience with necessary skill development. They find that learning is accomplished more readily in the job situation than when the skill is studied in the abstract for the purpose of passing a test. Actual application of a skill in the job situation becomes easier.

Many curricula have now incorporated programmed instructional materials, which make virtues of many learning defects. A short span of attention, for example, is entirely suited to the step-by-step learning of programmed materials. Moreover, the need for individualized planning and attention can be met by use of selected programmed materials. Of course, it is important to adapt all materials to the specific situation and the actual needs of particular students, rather than mechanically adopting materials in use elsewhere. And teachers must be given training in the skills necessary to administer materials and modify them.

We can proceed now to a closer examination of the survival-oriented knowledge and skills areas.

The World of Work

Most young people, in institutions and public schools alike, have only a limited knowledge of career opportunities available and still less knowledge of the requirements of each field. Delinquent youth in particular have had their horizons limited and have been given only minimal career expectations, often long before they are committed. Correctional

institutions, as the last school stop for many of these youth, must reverse this deadly trend.

Career education possibilities in institutions are naturally limited — but not as limited as current practice suggests. The majority of institutions still limit occupational experiences to those job skills offered in "shop" — whether it be carpentry, auto repair, or machine shop. This limitation is justified by financial considerations, but it really harks back to the idea — fostered by intelligence testing — that convicts (juvenile or adult) are capable only of working with their hands. The influence of this idea continues to prevail in some quarters.

But career opportunities have to be expanded to mesh with the changing requirements of society and the need for more skilled workers and technicians in many fields, from health to data processing. And expansion of career opportunities will realize the actual potentials of youth now circumscribed by the theory that delinquents are only "good with their hands."

As correctional practice moves away from large, impersonal state reformatories far removed from the communities of origin of the inmates, institutions will increasingly be able to utilize a variety of innovative educational practices. Smaller community-based institutions can count among their educational resources many people in the community who could supplement the work of the regular teaching staff. They could give guest lectures, lead field trips in their areas of specialization, participate in informal rap sessions with career-oriented youth, present demonstrations of their skills, accept and sponsor apprentices, and do a large number of other things as well. Institutional staff themselves have an important role to play here; they should be utilized in training and should be encouraged to offer advice and discuss job experiences with confined youth.

Opening these possibilities, of course, depends on extending the trend to small, community-based facilities. Further refinement of diagnosis and prescription is also needed. Program planners need improved analysis of educational needs and abilities, personal and social skills, and vocational aptitudes in order to develop realistic placements and to use community resources to best advantage.

A byproduct of engaging in such programs would be the end of the "invisibility" of the juvenile correctional system. As community resources were drawn into participation, the community's knowledge of the problems of youth in correctional settings would be increased. This can lead to community acceptance of the social responsibility to help in rehabilitation and to shoulder some of the burden borne so inadequately by large institutions way off in the boondocks.

Politics

An important innovation in institutional practice is the use of a model of shared decision making — a sort of constitution — enabling students to learn the workings of the democratic process through participation in institutional politics. The process of decision making, of designing and implementing policy, of discussing rules and standards can be an educational experience of immense value, especially when coordinated with classes in government, sociology, or psychology. Participation in institutional governance can teach students not only about government, but also about group processes and interpersonal dynamics.

Two approaches have been tried. One is to include all students in order to raise the general level of involvement and improve staff/student relationships. Another is to put participation on a prescriptive basis, as in community-release programs: only those who have demonstrated the ability or earned the right may participate. Room must always be made for new participants.

Decision-making activities can be a springboard for a wide variety of educational experiences that improve social awareness. It is important to convey the sense that ours is a political world and that effective functioning requires sophisticated understanding of the dynamics of economics, government, the democratic process, various social forces, and interpersonal relations.

Culture

The theories of the American "melting pot" and "rugged individualism" have died a hard death in recent years. Dispelling these myths is going to become an increasingly important part of the cultural education provided by correctional institutions.

And myths they are. The vision of the immigrants, native Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Blacks joining in one common culture has not materialized. American history is too often taught only from the standpoint of white Anglo-Saxon settlers. The heritage of the Africans, Indians, and Chicanos, and their enormous contribution to building America receives too little attention in the textbooks. The composition of the population of correctional institutions is a clear indication that the situation must be rectified and the darker side of American history must be uncovered — for it is this history with which many institutionalized youth will most identify. Twenty million Africans died on the slave ships and plantations. The history teacher — and especially the white history teacher — who fails to take note of this can be assured that increasingly his or her Black students will.

The racial and multinational problems of American society and their manifestations in our educational system are far too complex for a full discussion here. However, these problems must be confronted honestly in educational programs, to aid the students in building more positive self-images and to counter the severe alienation and rifts that can develop between teachers from the dominant culture and minority students, or between the all-too-rare minority teachers and white students who have imbibed endemic racism.

Teachers will require their own education in the variety of heritages and cultural experiences in American history. Students must be offered the opportunity to learn the history of their own groups. This point is particularly important because, as mentioned above, larger numbers of minority students, disproportionate to their percentage in the population, are confined in youth institutions.

There are many ways to inculcate cultural awareness, and a wide variety of expressive forms is acceptable. Ethnic minority youth, especially, can benefit from learning of their own heritage. They will learn about themselves. They will better understand their families and their interrelations with members of other groups. Classes addressing the true American heritage can be coupled with personal rap sessions and presentations of cultural events.

The connections between racial discrimination at the social level and serious problems at the personal level are well established. While such problems must be tackled by the society at large and the public school system in particular, the need to recognize and deal with racism is that much more urgent at the correctional level. It is difficult to conceive, for example, that significant advances can be made in the rehabilitative functions of institutions whose population is largely nonwhite but whose staff is predominantly white. The racial and ethnic diversity of the society must also be reflected in institutional staffing patterns.

Intrapersonal and Interpersonal Awareness

A realistic program to meet the need for increased intrapersonal and interpersonal awareness requires extensive coordination among program components to integrate educational and therapeutic activities. Learning about oneself and others and improving one's approach to life are actually points on a single continuum.

Group process programs, then, can be closely coordinated with other programs. For example, they can be combined with classes in sex education, drug education, or personal hygiene.

Honest discussions of sexual problems, for example, can have a profound effect on the self-image of youth facing serious identity prob-

lems. Boys who feel they must prove their masculinity at any cost and girls who have been rejected by family, school, and community because of illegitimate pregnancy or promiscuous behavior are examples. Most adolescents, of course, whether referred for behavior related to sex or not, are preoccupied with sexuality. An open and responsible group-process approach to these problems by teachers can help make sexuality less of a social problem in the institutional setting and beyond.

Drug education is equally important to many young delinquents who have a history of experimental use, dependency, or abuse of drugs. Here, too, giving out information about chemical substances can be combined with discussions about the use of drugs in their own or their peers' lives. The group process can be used to explore alternatives to abuse.

The central aim of intrapersonal and interpersonal awareness therapy is the development of a positive self-image. The object must be to give students opportunities to strengthen positive feelings, to experiment with self-evaluation, and to clarify their own values.

Again, as with cultural awareness, the need exists to sharpen the sensitivity of teachers and administrators in the juvenile correctional system. One aspect of this is a sharpened sensitivity to the pitfalls of testing.

Testing and diagnosis are double-edged. The information provided by scientific psychological and aptitude testing can be of great help in placement and treatment. It can also be used simply to label delinquents as slow, immature, deviant, or some other pejorative. Standardized diagnostic tests are most frequently used to identify strengths and weaknesses, but it should be remembered that such tests give only a gross indication of current levels of academic skills. There is no substitute for systematic observation of performance in terms of social skills.

It must be admitted that any youngster who had lived long enough to get into trouble and be committed is competent at something. The problem is that the demonstrated capacity to learn was applied to something that society devalues — pimping, dope peddling, car theft, or whatever. Nevertheless, the capacity to learn is there, and an optimistic view is therefore incumbent upon teachers.

Schools must help youth acquire knowledge of themselves, of how they deal with themselves and others, and this cannot be done in isolation from other activities. The group-process can be combined not only with explicit personal/psychological aspects of the curriculum (such as sex or drug education), but also with involvement in institutional politics, the exploration of career options, and myriad other endeavors.

Leisure

While institutionalized, the youth suffers an acute form of a common American problem, that is, the child has more leisure than he or she can cope with. But the institution has a golden opportunity to do much better than the family or the school system in providing for the development of lifetime leisure skills. The child in the institutional setting should have easier access to sports, arts, and crafts than children do in society at large; such programs can be integrated with the overall therapeutic approach.

Some revision of currently widespread practice will be in order. In athletics, for example, team sports have too often been viewed as a vehicle for behavior control. Access to participation has been limited, for example. But strenuous physical activity is basic to health, and an end must come to putting children on the bench when they most need to be active. One solution to the problem is not to stress large team sports, which are easily disorganized by disruptive juveniles; rather, the emphasis can be put on individual and small-group competition, making gym facilities and instruction available for such high-activity, low-contact sports as handball and badminton. Grounds used for baseball or flag football can be used for pitch and putt golf, relay races, and so forth.

Perhaps the most shameful neglect of sports activity has been in all-female institutions. This must change, of course, and no doubt will change as the general level of demand by women for equal access to athletic facilities rises.

And the "shops" that have often been reserved for formal instruction in selected trades should be opened for artistic expression and creative development. Woodwork can be carving, welding can be sculpture, and sewing machines can produce wallhangings as easily as uniforms. Instructors who can provide these skills must be found.

Basic Skills

All of the survival-oriented knowledge and skills discussed above relate to and are founded upon the most basic skills. But such basic skills as reading, writing, and arithmetic have traditionally been taught as discrete units. Minimal effort is made in most institutions to provide the context in which the acquisition of these skills becomes rational for the student.

The manner in which basic skills are taught must change. Individual instruction in skills coupled with career experience can put the skills in context for the student and help the student identify them as

necessities for progress in the career. Motivation to read, for example, can be developed in the context of any of the areas discussed above. Reading programs should be problem-oriented and coordinated with all aspects of the programs.

Planning to insure that basic skills are acquired in the course of acquiring other knowledge and skills requires considerable effort, both in gathering and designing teaching materials and in coordinating such programs with their equivalents in the public school system — so that the reentry process is not a shock.

Teachers

The basic issues within institutional classrooms, as outlined above, require the mediation of teachers. The close coordination of educational programs with total institutional philosophy, goals, and daily practice, and the restructuring of the educational programs themselves are the business of teachers in correctional education.

The integration and convergence of institutional programs will necessitate broadening the definition of "teacher," as general staff will function as teachers and teachers will function as counselors, advisors, and leaders.

The preparation and continuing education of teachers, then, is an appropriate focus for the close of our discussion of issues within institutional classrooms.

Preservice Training

The ideal preservice training of teachers would obviously require drastic reform of college teacher education. Currently — and especially in preparing secondary teachers — training consists of preparation in a discipline, plus a few education courses in methods, psychology, and foundations, either introduced in the last undergraduate year or saved for graduate work.

But as the juvenile corrections field undergoes a process of integration and convergence of programs, the ideal place for future teachers to be learning their trade is in the field itself, in student internships. The university or college should be a resource for this — a place where the prospective teacher goes to acquire information permitting him or her to perform the teacher aide function of an intern. Performance in the university setting should not be an end in itself, as it is now. The introduction of intern programs can help reverse the order of priorities for new teachers.

Subject matter preparation is vital, of course. But so is extensive knowledge of problem solving as an educational strategy, the teaching of basic skills in the context of work, politics, culture, personal development, and leisure. That is, problem solving must be used in an interdisciplinary fashion.

The acquisition of preservice teachers to train at the institution in internship programs may be accomplished by negotiating with colleges for student teachers, allocating resources for teacher aides, or special funding, after the fashion of the Teacher Corps, to provide a base for preparing teachers.

As the institutions change, prospective teachers can refine and further develop programs with staff and inmates. They can help to examine the roles of social institutions as primary promoters or perpetuators of predelinquent, delinquent, and alienated behavior, offering theoretical input to the changing institution. While they do this, prospective teachers can begin to identify the area of study they would enjoy teaching. Then they can select the proper subject matter courses in college — and they can make demands upon the colleges to supply needed subject matter.

Field Placement

A hypothetical experiment in field placement for prospective teachers might have four stages.

In Stage I, the prospective teacher would gain an orientation to the institution, becoming familiar with its premises — both physical and philosophical — and its educational and treatment programs. The intern should explore the place, both alone and with guides, and visit with students and staff. This stage would be accompanied by a reading program in education and correctional education which provides a model of the general trends toward integrated and interdisciplinary programs.

In Stage II, the prospective teacher might engage in active observation of the teaching process within the institution and of the functioning of other institutional processes. The intern can begin to develop prescriptions for improving the processes that can be used as guides to teaching strategies. Course work concurrent with this would emphasize theories of learning and theories of instruction.

In Stage III the intern can begin to function as an instructional aide, working with small groups of students. Applications of the prescriptions derived in Stage II can be undertaken, and modifications can be made. Interns should be collecting a repertoire of subject matter to be integrated into the total process.

In Stage IV the intern could assume a larger role in the design of instructional modules and learning activities in partnership with other staff and students. The intern would be expected to evaluate the efficiency of the modules and redesign them if necessary.

Throughout the internship both the intern and the staff would conduct evaluation and review of the intern's progress. At the conclusion of the fourth stage, sufficient performance data should be available to use in certifying the intern as a teacher. If employment cannot be guaranteed locally, counseling and recommendations for placement of successful interns in other institutions or systems should be provided.

Recruitment

If teachers are simply left to find their way into the corrections field on their own, the field will suffer from being unable to take advantage of as broad a variety of individuals as possible, and it may even suffer a shortage of personnel. That is why active recruitment of future teachers is necessary.

Considerable attention should be given to recruiting persons from populations that are underrepresented in education and corrections and overrepresented among institutionalized youth. Extensive efforts should be made to encourage the utilization of ex-offenders in the instructional process. Correctional education could provide an opportunity for such youth to provide a useful service and perform a personally gratifying role in society.

In-Service Training

The trend toward total treatment programs, the application of modern psychological and educational theory, the move toward smaller community-based centers, and increased coordination with the public school system and other community agencies all demand a systematic approach to a higher level of staff functioning and adaptation to changing times.

In-service training can lead to improved institutional coordination. Training sessions can be forums for the exchange of ideas between teaching staff and people performing other institutional functions. The plumber, the cooks, and the custodial staff, who may have worked in the institution for many years, may have a wealth of information to impart to the newly hired psychologist or teacher. Conversely, night staffers — who have been practicing crisis therapy for years — might be able to use systematic advice and assistance. The development of mutual appreciation and communication among the whole body of

institutional personnel will enhance everyone's work and, indeed, is necessary for the proper climate for total treatment.

Several models of in-service training should be mentioned:

- Discussion groups among a cross-section of the staff who share knowledge, skills, and experience, to develop trust and open communications.
- Institution-wide formal training sessions for all personnel dealing with such topics as crisis intervention, interracial awareness, contemporary American problems, the nature of violence, crime trends, and the like.
- Specialized training for staff in current rehabilitation strategies such as behavior modification, transactional analysis, gestalt therapy, reality therapy, transcendental meditation, or social action as therapy.
- Specialized training for teachers in such areas as learning disabilities, self-enhancing education, behavior modification, mental hygiene and teaching, programmed instruction, educational technology, and team teaching, to name a few new techniques.

Some of these courses could be taught through higher education facilities, providing credit to teachers. In-service training in general should have the following goals:

1. Learning to function in a team with other staff.

2. Learning to understand student needs and gaining expertise in handling a variety of learning, emotional, and behavior problems.

3. Learning sensitivity to diverse ethnic and cultural groups represented in the institutional population.

4. Learning new teaching content, methods, and concepts as they arrive on the scene.

5. Learning to use a variety of educational materials as well as community resources appropriate to the needs of the correctional setting.

The development and implementation of in-service training programs should always take account of the particular institution's size, location, proximity to educational resources, ethnic mix, and particular problems, policies, or peculiarities. Whatever the individual variations, however, in-service training must be seen as an essential aspect of modern corrections reform.

LINKING INSTITUTIONAL PROGRAMS WITH THE COMMUNITY

If correctional education were to move overnight to implement the above program (or any program of similar breadth and scope), we might expect to find that correctional education would become more popular than public education. But it should be no one's intent to set up two parallel systems, public and correctional education, competing with each other. The object is rather the opposite. The removal of a child from his or her home to a closely supervised existence may continue to be a necessity; that such an existence should be impoverished relative to life in the home community is certainly not a necessity. And innovation in the correctional education field, if successful, may have its translation into the field of public education.

The real problem is to link correctional education with the community, to close the yawning gulf between juvenile delinquent and productive adult.

The geographical and social isolation of juvenile correctional institutions throughout the West is well established. In some western states, institutions are more than 200 miles from the population centers from which their inmates are committed. Social isolation exists even where institutions are located in urban areas. The barriers to full communication between institutions and communities are reflected in the isolation of institutional academic and vocational programs from their counterparts in the community.

Many confined youth decide not to return to school when they are released. They know that they face a hostile reception in the public school — or at best an indifferent welcome. And their prospects for employment are also bleak. Vocational programs in most institutions have failed to provide them with modern skills or orientation to the world of work. And frequently there is no postinstitutional job placement service. Finding work is a matter of luck, especially for minority youth who fall double victim to high minority unemployment rates. Those with juvenile court records may simply be unable to find work.

In fact, many forces combine to pose a major problem for juveniles returning to the community after incarceration:

- The physical remoteness of institutions has worked to sever ties with the community.
- Community attitudes against delinquent youth present serious social barriers.
- Educational resources in institutions are often inadequate, of

poor quality, and irrelevant to future educational or vocational pursuits.

- Preparation for the returning youth is often inadequate, and in any case cannot surmount the above obstacles — particularly if serious social or racial issues complicate reentry.
- Extensive support of all types is missing at this most crucial juncture of departure from an institution to reenter society.

What mechanisms, then, can help to link the institution with the community in order to alleviate these problems?

Ending Geographical Isolation

The most obvious way to remove the problem of geographical isolation is to discontinue the practice of locating and maintaining facilities in remote areas. Many states are now adopting long-range plans to phase out their remote institutions. They are moving their facilities to urban centers, providing small-group homes, halfway houses, and community-based facilities. Some states may find the restructuring costly at first; over a period of time, however, operational costs will decrease as the benefits increase.

Regionalization or the development of satellite facilities can be a first step in eliminating isolated facilities or reducing their size and impersonality.

Involving the Community

Negative community attitudes have long been a barrier to successful reentry, particularly when held by school officials or prospective employers.

One means to eliminate such attitudes is to try to phase out duplicate programs as juvenile institutions become community-based. As small-group homes replace large institutions, it should be a rule that, wherever possible, a service existing in the community should not be duplicated at the facility. Various facets of already-functioning educational and vocational programs in the community could then be used by the juvenile rehabilitation service. The logical result of this would be increased community involvement in the process of rehabilitation.

As juvenile institutions find their way into communities, the opportunity for enriching the educational horizons of young offenders by involving the community becomes unlimited. Teachers should put the entire community at their disposal to implement an educational system meeting the list of needs discussed before: work, politics, cultural

awareness, leisure. Linkages to community activities representing these areas are plentiful, and all could be the means toward reducing social isolation and enhancing opportunities for social participation.

Career education, for example, could be easily realized in a number of ways, including work-study programs, internships, apprenticeships, vocational and professional study, and individual assignments to paid and volunteer craftsmen. Great care must be taken, of course, to see that institutionalized youth do not become a source of easily exploited labor or the victims of old-fashioned indentured servitude. The resources for all of this exist in the community; the problems are simply logistical.

In cases where it is not possible to achieve a full blending with community resources, institutions might use some form of purchase or service agreement to obtain educational and vocational services not readily available through public means. Private learning opportunities, particularly in professional and technical areas, can thus be made available.

In any case, success becomes dependent upon forging links with the community and involving members of the community in various projects. Such an approach can make education for delinquent youth in the future vastly different from the present operation.

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THE PROBLEM OF THE ROLE OF THE SCHOOLS: NEW OBJECTIVES AND PRIORITIES

Introduction

This report has provided a historical view of juvenile correctional education; it has assessed the current status of the field in the West, and it has identified special issues of concern to workers in the field. It is abundantly clear, we think, that correctional education can be neither discussed nor changed in a vacuum. Therefore it is important to determine the context within which the needed changes can be made.

Western Trends

Events of the past few years indicate a number of trends in the ways delinquency is handled.

Institutional population totals are down in some states. Ten or fifteen years ago, the emphasis was on improving and building more institutions because it was assumed that larger and larger numbers of youth would be incarcerated at higher and higher rates during the remainder of the century. Ten years ago, most states were building new facilities. Plans for new institutions, youth camps, detention centers, and diagnostic facilities were on the drawing boards. Very little was said about prevention, improving community services, or improving the capability of the public school system to handle difficult youth. But the focus has changed. Today, some institutions are being closed or consolidated. There is little talk about building new large institutions, forestry camps, or diagnostic centers.

"Delinquent acts" have been redefined, with some prodding from the courts, and many children in need of supervision, those committing victimless crimes, and those who are simply dependent or neglected are now diverted from the correctional system in the larger and more urbanized western states. Some states have made the introduction of community-based treatment programs a top priority. More and more

the community is becoming the preferred site and source for prevention and treatment of delinquency.

The *Gault* court decision has made the legal rights of juveniles a paramount concern for workers in the field of juvenile corrections. As concern for legal protection of children in trouble has increased, so has concern for a new look at rights and responsibilities of all youth.

But a substantial proportion of delinquents are still handled through the traditional large institutions. In the vastnesses of the western states, both the rural and the urban extremes exist. In rural Wyoming, in 1973, forty-six girls were housed in the Wyoming Girls' School at Sheridan; the court orders state the following reasons for their incarceration:

Beyond control of parent	30 percent
Best interest of child	28
Habitual truant	9
Interinstitutional transfer	9
Delinquency	4
Incorrigibility	4
Lack of parental care	4
In need of structured environment	2
Larceny	2
Manslaughter	2
Stealing	2

Only 10 percent of these young women (ages 10 to 19) are committed for an act that would be defined as criminal if committed by an adult. The average length of stay in the institution is nine months. Most of the Wyoming girls would be considered children in need of supervision and diverted to noninstitutional programs in some other states (California, Colorado, Washington); but Wyoming's local communities lack diversionary programs — because the resources either don't exist or haven't been gathered together. Thus the girls are sent to the state facility, often hundreds of miles from their homes.

Wyoming, whose institutional population resembles the same population fifty years ago, should be contrasted to California. The California Youth Authority Report of June 30, 1972, showed 303 girls (13 to 23 years of age) housed in Youth Authority institutions for the following offenses:

Runaway and incorrigible	16.8 percent
Foster home failure	14.5
Narcotics	12.2
Assault	9.6
Robbery	8.6

Theft (except auto)	6.9
Homicide	5.3
Escape from county facility	4.6
Forgery	3.6
Burglary	2.3
Auto theft	1.7
Sex offenses	1.0
County camp failure	0.7
Other offenses	12.2

In sum, girls incarcerated in California have usually committed more serious crimes and are older than their counterparts in Wyoming. This reflects two circumstances. First, California has extensive local and county diversion programs, which are lacking in Wyoming. Second, California has quite a heterogeneous urban population and social conditions that tend to generate more delinquency in both absolute and relative terms.

Common Problems

But Wyoming, California, and, indeed, all the western states share common problems. A characteristic that all institutionalized youth have in common, whether they come from sparsely populated rural areas or dense urban concentrations, is school failure.

Rates of delinquency are increasing. A larger proportion of delinquent acts, particularly in urban areas, are more serious in nature — violence and drug-related offenses. Youth committing these offenses are held in institutions for longer periods of time. And intra- and interracial strife has been on the increase — or it has been increasingly noticed, in any event. In California struggles among and between Blacks, Chicanos, Asians, Indians, and whites in the communities have their institutionalized reflection as well, and the same situation can be found in other western states.

Yet every major report since the mid-1960s has insisted, quite correctly, that as many youthful offenders as possible should be diverted to community-based treatment programs. The National Advisory Commission on Standards and Goals for the Criminal Justice System (NAC), which released its report in August 1973, says "only those youth who have committed acts that would be criminal if committed by adults should be subject to the delinquency jurisdiction of the courts." The immediate application of such a dictum would probably result in the release of more than half the youth now institutionalized in the West. The NAC went on to say, "Just as the causes of crime lie embedded in the structure of the community, so do its solutions. . . All major institutions for juveniles should be phased out over the next

five-year period. Responsibility for juveniles should be transferred to local communities."

The overall social contradiction that is the greatest problem faced by juvenile corrections in the West is thus clarified. A move to reduce intake and to close large, secure institutions will meet resistance from a public concerned with the increasing violence and drug-relatedness of youth offenses.

The Massachusetts experiment has recently become the touchstone for both sides — forces advocating community-based treatment and forces fearing and opposing it. All juvenile institutions in Massachusetts were closed in the course of a single year in 1971-1972. Youth were diverted to halfway houses in the community. The abrupt transition provoked a harsh public reaction and generated opposition from the police and the courts as well. The final outcome of the experiment is still in doubt — but one way or another, it is an experiment destined to be repeated, wholly or in part, in the West.

The stage is set for an agonizing confrontation between opposing views and practices.

The Social, Fiscal, and Legal Challenges of Change

The actual prospects for using the community as a base for corrections will depend upon a number of factors shaping the future.

Juvenile corrections will be in the same state of ferment and turmoil over the next five years. The implementation of change — even the mere discussion of change — will provoke reaction. The public will be drawn into the controversies — as it should be, because proposed changes will affect the citizenry.

Changes will also occur in the youth culture. Some experts predict increases in violence and a return to the street gangs of the 1950s. If adults continue to fear the young, their attitudes will shape the future of corrections.

Changes will cost money. Priorities in spending will be established in competition with all other public and social enterprises.

The courts will continue to intervene to establish new standards in the correctional profession. The leadership of the field is being challenged not only by the courts, but also by inmate groups, by the ACLU, and similar forces. The National Advisory Commission report is emphatic on the point that reform is in the wind and that legal challenges to correctional practice will increase. It urges the correctional field to undertake its own overhaul, and notes that failure to update and modernize will assure court intervention. Ample evidence of the truth of

this exists in recent court decisions on the constitutionality of correctional programs in West Virginia, Arkansas, California, Virginia, and Alabama.

Can the major contradiction between the drive toward community-based programs and the fear or hostility of the community be resolved within the context of tight money, court battles, and increasing numbers of juvenile offenders? That will depend very much on the stance that will be taken by one of the most influential forces in the lives of all children — the public school systems.

The Role of the Schools in the Community

Many forces can be identified as major influences in the lives of young people: family, peers, schools, neighborhoods, economy, politics . . . and this basic list can easily be enlarged. Each plays a vital role in shaping young lives, and all of them can overlap and collide with each other.

In preindustrial times, the family was the main influence, socializing children through early employment and participation in family growth and survival on the farm and in small towns. The industrial revolution was merciless in its effect on the family, however, wrenching millions of people from the land and working men, women, and children for twelve and sixteen hours a day in gloomy mills and factories. A climate of resistance to exploitation developed, and gradually (although not without many bloody battles) child labor laws were enacted. The reform movement changed the face of the nation. Eventually, school attendance became compulsory. In modern America, the public school has become the primary influential agent in the child's life.

Formal education begins early — frequently as early as four or five years of age — and it lasts a long time for most; many continue through college. And schools increasingly undertake functions once considered the domain of the family: value education, career building, early child care, employment and work study, family life education. The system of schooling with which we become familiar in public schools has stamped the entire educational process — how and what we teach in business and industry, and even in recreation and entertainment, is shaped largely by the methods of the public school system.

But have the schools actually succeeded? The **Wall Street Journal** criticized schools for their failure to prepare young people for the world of work, in a September 1971 editorial: "The present [educational] system is highly inefficient if we are to assume that one role of education should be to prepare people for a useful role in the economy as well as a responsible role as citizens. To fill that role, some educa-

tors will have to adopt new attitudes toward their task."

The schools have come under fire from other quarters also. They have been charged with attempting to wipe out ethnic diversity and celebrating conformity to dominant middle-class lifestyles. They have been charged with being bureaucratically organized and run so that they are not subject to popular control. The schools have formed local, regional, and even statewide combines in many states that have made their workings inaccessible to citizens. Some say they have borrowed the appearance and manners of large corporations. At any rate, they do not seem to be susceptible to local pressures. Schools and Boards of Education make more and more important decisions without submitting them to any form of public scrutiny. Battles over community control of local schools have broken out in recent years across the country, battles like the one occurring in New York City's District 1, for example.

Yet the schools continue to assemble the young in close contact with each other, controlling and guiding their lives. The public school is a powerful institution. What is its relation to juvenile delinquency? Can it be an aid in combatting it? Or will it remain what it is — all too often simply a causal link in the development of juvenile delinquency?

Can the Schools Play a Role in Corrections?

The most common characteristic of delinquents is their poor performance in school. For many years, public schools have been able to eliminate disruptive or underachieving young people by suspension or expulsion. Often, schools have participated in the procedures necessary to send such young persons to juvenile institutions.

When juvenile offenders are released, the schools are often most reluctant to accept them on their return.

But the correctional field is changing. Fewer youth will be committed to institutions, and more and more young people will be under some form of supervision in their own communities. Schools will face a test: Will they provide programs for these youth, or will they seek to have other agencies assume that responsibility?

If the schools choose to try to provide programs for delinquent youth, they will have to undergo some drastic revisions. It should be remembered that educational programs for institutionalized youth have often been simply replicas of public school programs — and youth frequently experience the same failure in the institutional school that they had in the public school. If public schools are to be responsive to delinquents, then their academic and vocational programs must change.

The crisis represented by increasing delinquency is not resolved by excluding those who come to the attention of authorities from the schools. Delinquency is just one stop along a continuum of behavior, as urban schools well know. The drug abuse problem alone has mushroomed during the last decade in a massive way and in forms not easily dealt with. A young child in a city school can become a heroin addict — shooting up in the school toilet, nodding in class — and harried teachers in overcrowded classrooms may not even notice unless the child falls dead of an overdose. Violence undreamed of by the author of **Blackboard Jungle** is epidemic in some city school systems. Vandalism and terrorism are not uncommon in most urban schools and many rural ones, too. As if the behavior of schoolchildren were not enough, many schools sit in the vortex of storms of public controversy over unionization of teachers, busing, boycotts, security, and community control. It is easy enough, in view of all this, for schools to justify their resistance to assuming responsibility for educating delinquent youth. Some are barely able — and some fail — to educate the nondelinquent.

And yet it is the need to cope with all these problems, which cannot be shifted onto the shoulders of youth authorities in their entirety, which will drive the schools in the direction of solutions which will enable them to cope with educating delinquents as well.

Integrated Experiential Curricula

Schools will have to find a way of delivering self-enhancing education with an emphasis on humanizing interpersonal relationships.

Beginning efforts already made in this direction demonstrate the ambivalence of even those school systems willing to try and cope with the problem. One form that has popped up here and there, for example, is called "alternative education" — schools for delinquents and dropouts. These are often loosely defined, too broadly structured, hazy experiments. They often fail, for a wide variety of reasons: poor financing, unrealistic expectations, lack of community support, stigmatization of already alienated youth, political entanglements, and shortages of personnel, to name a few. Some "alternative schools" are not connected with a community school system; others are quasi-official arms of the traditional school. Whatever their formal character, their true estrangement from the public school is usually obvious. Few things are more depressing than spending a day in an urban continuation high school for delinquents and dropouts.

Alternative education still keeps troubled youth at arm's length from society. If it won't work, what will? Former U.S. Commissioner of Education Sidney P. Marland spoke out recently, giving some indication of the direction in which he thinks the schools might go:

> We spend billions to prepare 2.5 million young people for potential disenchantment, aimlessness, and failure. Year after year after year!
>
> Even more distressing are the losses we cannot calculate in dollars — the loss of confidence and self-esteem, the sense of alienation and drift, the terrible sense of abasement and nonfulfillment that burdens millions of young people as they embark upon their adult lives. The aftermath of these early defections, of course, usually turns up in our unemployment, welfare, and crime statistics.
>
> We must guarantee job entry skills for all high school graduates and most dropouts, skills as basic as typing and food preparation, perhaps, but undergirded by the sound foundation in mathematics, the social sciences, and English that all of us need to function in virtually any field of employment. . . . The concept of career education would encourage the opt-out to leave the system whenever he wishes, provided he is ready for satisfying and appropriate work, but he would also be welcomed back into the system cordially and routinely at whatever point he wishes to reenter and at whatever age. Perhaps career education will set aside forever the whole question of the dropout.

Career education, as Marland envisions it, would unite the school to the world of work; and for many delinquent youth, that union can be the difference between their survival in the community and their expulsion to institutions. In order for career education to work, teachers and administrators must understand their communities, particularly the job market of today and the job market of the future. Their obligation will be to promote those careers with relevance to the society, so that the skills learned will be marketable.

Another affirmative step toward which schools can move is the involvement of students in school governance and other areas of school life once reserved for faculty and administrators alone.

Adaptation of the curriculum to permit an integrated approach to personal value clarification, participation, and career education will not be easy. But it is necessary for the public school systems to recognize that they themselves have the equipment to do the job of educating all the young people of this country, including those who have been in trouble. They will need new approaches, and more money — but they have the basic structure and support needed to provide better solutions. The stage is set.

An Agenda of Priorities

The first priority for improving education for the youthful offender, both within institutions and within the community, is for those concerned to recognize and codify what might be termed a "Bill of Rights" for all children. Three basic rights should surely be included:

1. **The Right to Learn.** The public school system must recognize its responsibility to provide free education to all children and young people, which means that it is the school's responsibility to develop programs that will achieve this goal. This responsibility is spelled out in the U.S. constitution and in the constitutions of all the states. All concerned with the education of youth should bend all their efforts to make correctional education and the correctional institution obsolete and unnecessary. It is the public school which must expand to meet the new demands of our society, which call for ever more training and development of social awareness as well as technological skills.

2. **The Right to Earn.** All youth have a right to steady and meaningful employment if and when they wish to enter the labor market. But today the unemployment rate for ghetto youth is as high as 40 percent; the unemployment rate for all youth is 20 percent — and both rates have been rising. While solving the unemployment problems of youth will not completely solve the problem of delinquency, it will surely go a long way towards doing just that.

3. **The Right to Live and Develop.** The civilization in which we live has created wondrous possibilities for the development of true human potential. No longer are we chained to subsistence levels of labor and relationships. Modern industry and agriculture have freed us from relationships based on bare economic necessity. For the first time in human history it is possible for generations to begin to live "not by bread alone" in the fullest sense. American youth sense this. They sense the possibilities inherent in the environment, and they must be given the means to develop all aspects of their own creativity and

self-knowledge. Whatever obstacles lie in the path of the full realization of this right must be cleared away.

Our next priorities must include the idea that efforts to improve correctional education must be linked with a larger effort to improve education for all youth, building upon career education and self-enhancing educational approaches. Moreover, the public must be involved; bringing active citizens into full partnership with corrections will improve both education and the juvenile justice system.

Where youth remain in institutions, priority must be given to improving the educational facilities and attitudes of the institution, with career education in first place.

But wherever possible, educational programs and offerings should rest in the community, rather than in the institution.

Such an agenda of priorities can be used to launch new programs to provide education truly responsive to the needs outlined in this report.

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INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS IN JUVENILE CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Introduction

The following commentaries present highlights of ten programs currently operating throughout the country addressing issues in education for juvenile corrections. They were selected through a "grapevine" process. Many contacts were called and asked if they knew about special educational efforts in this field.

Each project addresses one or more of the issues in correctional education discussed in this report. Persons to contact for more information are listed, and additional information may be obtained from them on request.

1. **An Experiment in Open Education**
   Wyoming Girls School
   Sheridan, Wyoming

Through an open school plan, selected students are encouraged to determine their own educational goals and ways to achieve them. After the student has chosen course and learning areas, the teacher acts as a guide to facilitate learning through various approaches and settings.

The project started in December 1972 and includes ten students and two teachers. The philosophy is based on the belief that free choice in learning will enhance self-concept and motivation more rapidly than the traditional institutional classroom setting.

Contact person: **Ann Chestnut**
Teacher-Administrator

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2. **Differential Education Project**
Ventura School
Camarillo, California

This program was established to match teacher styles and educational environments to personality characteristics of students. It is based on I-level theory (interpersonal maturity level), a conceptual framework pioneered in California. Studies have supported the belief that recidivism is lowered when delinquents match personality dimensions of workers. Four groups have been established for this project: (1) manipulator, (2) cultural conformist, (3) neurotic acting out, and (4) neurotic, anxious.

Specific program goals are to develop specialized curricula for students of the subtypes involved and to compare the impact of homogeneous classrooms (those using the matching system) with heterogeneous classrooms as reflected in achievement, behavioral, and personality measures.

Teachers are matched to the classes according to their own personality and preferred teaching styles. Materials are developed on a pragmatic basis, using each session to build to the next.

A control group has been set, matching students from each I-level group, to study the effects on recidivism and educational success.

Materials are available upon request.

Contact person: **John Van Groningen**
Program Director

3. **Guided Group Interaction Project**
Division of Youth Services
State of Florida, Tallahassee

Guided group interaction is considered to be the primary means of influence in the Florida Youth Institutions and thus it becomes the focus for all programs. Cottages and dormitories are organized into groups of eight, each with a leader. Teachers are group leaders, and a youth remains with his group during his stay at the facility.

By having the teacher as the leader, he plays the dual role (teacher-leader) and can expedite the combining of personal, social, and educational development both in institutional philosophy and in daily practice. Class meetings and group sessions are combined to support the building of self-worth and responsibility. Two Florida institutions are co-educational, and similar programs are in effect.

Contact person: **Jack Moran, Director**
Bureau of Education

4. **The BDJ Plan**
Victor Cullen School
Sabillasville, Maryland

The BDJ Plan (after Brett, Dewees, and Johnson, the school's administrators) is a system of programmed instruction combined with a point economy system coordinated with an institution-wide behavior modification program. Behavioral, emotional, and educational needs are identified and treated as integrally related. The strong influence of emotional factors on the potential for intellectual and educational development is accounted for in general program design. Alternative programs are available for seriously disturbed students.

Negative features are exaggerated in a correctional setting, and their elimination is crucial. Another important consideration is the transient nature of the student population.

In accordance with these considerations, grades were eliminated and a step system in each subject area was established. There are no report cards, no grades, no failures. A student must successfully complete 80 percent of the work in a unit to proceed to the next unit. The student works individually with the teacher at his own pace to accomplish this goal. Programmed instruction based on "errorless learning" is used for all subject areas. The student is able to receive immediate feedback and satisfaction for each question studied. The programmed steps are small and their order is logical. With reasonable concentration, very few mistakes are made. A point economy system is used to motivate achievement and coordinate educational objectives with other aspects of the school's program. A contract is written for each unit of work, and upon successful completion the student is remunerated with a predetermined number of points that can be converted into cash value.

The Metropolitan Achievement Test and the student's emotional status are used to determine the individual educational plan. If a student scores below the fourth grade level in reading comprehension, he is placed in a Basic Skills class and a vocational shop. For those scoring above fourth grade reading level, a program of academic instruction and a vocational shop are provided.

Two alternative programs exist for those students unable to cope with the routine educational plans:

1. Work Training Program (used to discipline disruptive behavior). The student is segregated, existing contracts are nullified, and he must work for reentry into the regular program.

2. Five Percent Class (a program for those psychiatrically and psychologically unable to participate in a regular educational program).

Work with this group is not primarily academically oriented, but is concerned with identification of social conflicts and unsuccessful peer relationships. Teachers work in cooperation with the Clinical Services in an attempt to reduce emotional conflicts thereby facilitating the potential for academic progress.

Contact person: **Sherman Brett**
Director of Education

5. **Survival Education Course**
Karl Holton School for Boys
Stockton, California

The program was designed to provide appropriate options and skills for street behavior upon return to the community. The course is about how to get along in the world if you are a late teen or young adult. There are six parts to the course.

1. **Family life education** includes dating, grooming, choosing a partner, male and female physiology, birth control and abortion, myths about sex, child management and development, and social adjustment.

2. **Survival health** explores communicable diseases, nutrition, common health and first aid, patent and common medicines, drug abuse, medical and mental health resources, and physical and dental hygiene.

3. **Survival economics** examines budgets, contracts, major purchasing, lending institutions, savings, taxes and insurance, and where and how to get money.

4. **Household management** teaches the use of major appliances, garment repair, washing and laundry, meal planning, buying foods, cooking, apartment management, and house cleaning.

5. **Legal rights and aids** instructs in how to get along with police, voter registration, legal aides, neighborhood lawyers, draft obligations, new rights for eighteen-year-olds, and licensing (including driver, hunting, and fishing).

6. **Job skills** course includes information on how to get a job, how to take an interview, and how to keep the job after being hired.

Group discussion is the primary teaching method. Standard curriculum materials have not been developed.

Contact person: **Gordon Spencer**
Supervisor of Education

6. **Total Treatment Program**
Division of Youth Services
State of Colorado
Denver, Colorado

The Youth Services Division classifies intake youth according to learning disability, I-level, and individual prescription. The education staffing committee prescribes a general educational treatment plan for each child. An educational contract or prescription is drawn. This plan is integrally linked with all other institutional programs.

Special emphasis is placed on learning disabilities. The program is based on a belief that the child's social behavior problems are compounded and/or caused by his inability to learn properly through one of his sense modalities, thus creating a general failure-oriented attitude due to concomitant failures in academic and social areas.

Wherever possible, coursework itself is integrated into the treatment model. In addition to specific work aimed at overcoming learning disabilities, teachers are encouraged to use innovative materials and formats which take into account the related processes of perceptual, cognitive, emotional, and interpersonal development. The social studies course, for instance, is conceptualized in terms of: Myself in Modern Society, My Environment and Its Development, and Cause and Effect Principles in History.

Courses are taught by programmed individualized instruction methods. Team teaching is used when appropriate. For those youths who are seriously disturbed, or who lack motivation, or who don't plan to return to high school, an "open" learning environment is provided in which teachers encourage a wide variety of educational experiences and exploration in order to foster motivation and direction as well as intellectual development. High school credit may be given for participation in these activities at the discretion of the teacher and other staff.

Contact person: **Richard Compton**
Supervisor of Education

7. **Core Program**
Minnesota Home School
Sauk Creek, Minnesota

The Core Program provides an opportunity for each student to establish and maintain a rate of learning consistent with his capabilities. An Educational Therapist Coordinator is assigned to each cottage and has instructional responsibilities for the basic education of all students there. He or she coordinates teaching and treatment teams and arranges

individualized instruction. In addition, he or she is responsible for orientation and diagnostic programs for new students. Cottage counselors serve as aides to the coordinator.

Other programs supplement the activities of the Core Program. They are:

1. **Cadet (E.S.E.A. Title I).** Thirty students receive tutorial instructional assistance in mathematics and language arts in addition to their regularly scheduled classes. Fifteen students participate as cadets (tutors) for the other fifteen. Several women from the Minnesota Corrections Institution for Women are employed as teacher aides.

2. **Evers Behavioral Modification.** The academic portion involves one boys' cottage utilizing operant conditioning techniques. Individual instruction is provided through programmed materials. Students receive immediate positive reinforcement through a point system whereby they earn points in school for performance and behavior and in the cottage for their manner and attitude as related to responsibilities.

3. **Family Life Education.** A study of family living to enable the student (boy or girl) to learn to live out his or her sexuality in a positive way; to understand the anatomical, physiological, psychological, and sociological implications involved; and to arrive at a pattern of responsible relationships to self and society.

4. **New Focus (E.S.E.A. 1965, Title III).** The primary object is to utilize the arts as a tool of rehabilitation. This is accomplished by putting students in direct contact with practicing artists from the community. Through a workshop format, the project attempts to provide truly free, creative experiences to help raise self-concepts, increase levels of success, and provide a means of self-expression through the arts. Students may be brought out of the institution to attend workshops, exhibits, performances, concerts, and theater. Through coordination with other aspects of the treatment and education program, New Focus has had a high degree of success in relating to the students' emotional needs, identifying problem areas, and providing alternatives to self-destructive forms of expression.

5. **Preschool Nursery.** A community-related program whereby selected students provide and supervise programs of play and learning experiences for preschool age children. The primary goal for students is learning about child growth and development stages to better equip them for the eventuality of parenthood.

Contact person: **Director**
Minnesota Home School
Sauk Creek, Minnesota

8. **Family Life Education**
California Youth Authority
Sacramento, California

This program, now taught in more than five youth authority schools, provides the youth authority wards an educational experience which should enable them to make rational choices regarding family planning in accordance with their personal beliefs and desires, to improve their health and socioeconomic status, and to aid in the resolution of debilitating problems in the area of heterosexual adjustment.

Teaching methods and format were selected as appropriate to this particular student group. Most were alienated from traditional classroom activity. Teachers have sought to find innovative and interesting forms to present facts, to facilitate emotional growth, and lead the student toward openness and honesty.

The curriculum covers a wide range of issues and factual content. They include human sexuality and its relationships to self-concept and interpersonal relationships, basic reproductive anatomy and physiology, venereal disease, contraceptive measures, family planning, and health care and social adjustment. Teachers are prepared to discuss candidly sensitive topics avoided in many courses on family life. They discuss with students such concerns as the sex drive, aggressive sexual behavior, drug taking and sexuality, masturbation, and homosexuality.

It is expected that open, honest discussions will help students resolve conflicts and move toward a healthy adjustment.

Teachers are selected who know the materials, who are open and honest in their approach, and who have a satisfactory adjustment to life. Classes are coeducational when possible, and voluntary.

Contact person: **Ruth Glick, Ph.D.**
Program Director

COMMUNITY-BASED PROGRAMS

1. **Liaison Teacher-Returnee Counselor Project**
Milwaukee Public Schools
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

In order to provide continuous support to juveniles upon release from state institutions, this project employs teachers from the institutions and public school counselors to assist returning youth. Three components in the program are:

1. Prerelease activity.

2. Program orientation for release.

3. Continual supportive counseling.

Four liaison teachers provide the link between the institutions and the Milwaukee Public Schools. Returning students are assigned to one of the four participating high schools, where a counselor is responsible for helping them fit into the home school curriculum; often in the middle of the semester. The liaison teachers work with the counselors to design and carry out a preliminary school program based on the student's abilities and needs.

Teachers and counselors make daily attendance checks and periodic reports of academic progress. They are available for conferences with the family, school officials, parole officers, and others.

Contact person: **Terry Mehail**
Supervisor of Title I
Guidance

2. **California Youth Authority Public School Liaison Project**
Santa Clara County Schools
San Jose, California

In September 1969, the California Youth Authority and the Santa Clara County Office of Education initiated a program of planning and coordinating the schoolwork of CYA commitments from Santa Clara County. The purpose of the project was to ensure that a continuity of school programming was maintained while the student was in detention and to provide for a smooth reentry into the public school upon release.

Underlying the program's activities, in addition to its achievements in educational planning, is the idea that maintaining ties with the home community, through liaison workers, has a positive effect on the child as well as the family and others in the community. The program demonstrates the positive effects of working toward continuity and coordination among the various agencies involved in the helping process.

The program provides for continuity in educational planning with the youth from the time of his or her confinement in the Juvenile Hall, through the period of commitment to the state institutions and upon return to the local high school. The student may be issued a high school diploma at any stage of this process if he or she completes the planned program.

The coordinator, through his or her liaison work, is able to:

1. Assemble the ward's educational records and have a complete

record of all work in the institution and local schools available at all times.

2. Provide planning and consultation to enable the CYA to offer a coherent and continuous educational program consistent with the child's needs.

3. Handle details of reentry into the local school.

Contact person: **Richard A. Bowers**
Director
Juvenile Court School
Santa Clara County
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